The eternal problem of gift-selection, of hitting on something really appropriate, acceptable, useful, something concerning the value of which there can be no doubt, is solved. Whether the recipient has or has not other cars, the FORD £100 Saloon will be equally gratifying and welcome.

Smart and trim, inside and out, non-fatiguing to handle, compact in overall dimensions (for the negotiation of dense traffic, ease of parking, inexpensiveness of garage), it is an honest, "full" four-seater, with plenty of head, leg and elbow room for all occupants. No other car of comparable performance costs so little, on insurance, taxation, fuel, lubricants, tyres or—in time to come—replacements or repairs. The Local Ford Dealer can deliver the £100 Ford Saloon, Taxed and Insured, on an Initial Payment of £25. 18-month and 24-month transactions can be arranged with slightly higher initial payments. Literature on Request All Prices at Works.

"There is no comparison! More miles per gallon is good: Fewer pence per mile is better!"

Ford

D MOTOR COMPANY LIMITED, DAGENHAM, ESSEX. LONDON SHOWROOMS: 88 REGENT STREET, W.1

WORLD REVIEW

Volume II. No. 4. *Incorporating* *'REVIEW OF REVIEWS' and 'WORLD'* *December, 1936*

40 CHANDOS STREET
LONDON W.C.2.

Telegrams: BOOKSTORE, LONDON
Telephone: TEMPLE BAR 0127—9

Editorial Board:

J. W. WHEELER-BENNETT
VERNON BARTLETT
SIR ROGER CHANCE, BART.
JOHN McDOUGALL

CONTENTS

		PAGE
"BLIND SPOTS"	*Vernon Bartlett*	9
FOREIGN BODIES	*"Floodlight"*	14
THE LEAGUE: ITS DEFEAT AND ITS VICTORY	*Salvador de Madariaga* ..	19
FROM A GENEVA NOTEBOOK	*"Ulysses"*	26
CARTOONS OF THE MONTH	.. ..	29
MIRACLE OVER MADRID	*"Reynard"*	35
MEDITERRANEAN—MARE NOSTRUM?		
BETTER FRIENDS OR——	*"La Stampa," Turin* ..	36
DYNAMIC DICTATOR	*"National-Zeitung," Basle*	38
FRANCE HOLDS THE MEDITERRANEAN KEY	*"Les Documents Politiques," Paris*	39
BRITAIN'S THE WORST METHOD	*"New York Herald-Tribune"*	42
CITIZENS OF EMPIRE	*Cleve Stead, "Egyptian Gazette," Cairo*	43
APOLOGIA FOR ANARCHISM	*Federico Urales*	46
GERMANY TIGHTENS ITS BELT		
GUNS AND BUTTER	*"Echo de Paris"*	49
ENGLAND AND OURSELVES	*"Hamburger Fremdenblatt* ..	52
SYNTHETIC RUBBER	.. ..	56
SEEING IN THE DARK	*B.Z. am Mittag, Berlin* ..	57
LAND-HUNGRY EUROPE		
LAND FOR THE LANDLESS	*"Frankfurter Zeitung"* ..	58
COLONIES FOR POLAND	*"Schlesische Zeitung," Breslau*	60
BOLSHEVISATION OF THE UKRAINE	*"Dilo," Lwow*	61
UNDER THE POLISH HEEL	*"Pravda," Moscow* ..	63
CHINA SPEAKS—WITH A SMILE	*Lin Yu-Tang, Ph.D.* ..	65

Christmas Gifts from MACKIE'S

BY APPOINTMENT

EDINBURGH SHORTBREAD
Per tin, by post 2/10, 4/10, 7/1

PITCAITHLY BANNOCKS
Shortbread with almonds and peel
Per tin, by post 3/4, 5/10, 8/7

We post for Christmas delivery, enclosing your Greeting Cards.

A Complete Price List will be sent to you on request

J. W. MACKIE & SONS LTD
108 Princes Street, Edinburgh 2
Telephone: 22021-5

Hand-filled *OR* Ready-filled

It's a grand smoke either way

No tobacco is *better* packed than John Sinclair's CUT GOLDEN BAR, now sold in handy "Ready-Fills" for quick, exact pipe-filling, or ready-rubbed for the pipe in the famous "EverFresh" Tin which keeps the tobacco Factory-fresh—indefinitely.

Whichever way you smoke it, John Sinclair's CUT GOLDEN BAR has the same rich, satisfying flavour . . . characteristic of the fine old mellow Virginia leaf from which it is made. It *is* a grand smoke. If you are a pipe-lover, try *John Sinclair's* CUT GOLDEN BAR.

'READY-FILLS' CARTONS OF 12 1/4

In 'EVERFRESH' TINS 1/4 OZ

JOHN SINCLAIR LTD., NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE

JOHN CUT SINCLAIR'S

GOLDEN BAR

G.B.30a

CONTENTS—*continued*

		PAGE
FERMENT IN SOUTH AMERICA		
REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES AND DICTATORSHIPS	*Our Buenos Aires Correspondent*	72
PAN-AMERICA	*"Christian Science Monitor," Boston*	75
UNCLE SAM SPEAKS HIS MIND		
NOW FOR IT, ROOSEVELT!	*Raymond Gram Swing, "News-Chronicle," London*	79
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	.. ..	82
TRAVEL		
ALPINE TOPICS	*G. D. Greenland*	84
FIRST DAYS ON SKIS	*Dennis Bartlett*	85
ROADS, HERE AND IN GERMANY	*G. E. T. Eyston*	86
FINANCE		
FUTURE OF UNIT TRUSTS	*R. E. Bird*	88
THE NEW DEAL RE-DEALT	*"Rapier"*	92
INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF (SPECIAL WINTER BOOK SECTION)	*Reviews by Major B. T. Reynolds, Lt.-Col. H. de Watteville, H. A. R. Philby, Air Commodore L. E. O. Charlton, Eric Swenne. International Book Guide.*	95

ndia's Decisive Hour.

here is a ferment among the millions of outasts today which is unique in India's history. Iany are looking to the Christian Church as home in which they may find freedom, proress, and fellowship.

hus is presented to the Church a challenge hich has been described by an experienced bserver as

"The largest single opportunity in the History of Modern Missions."

he decisive importance of this situation has led the HURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY to issue an

EMERGENCY APPEAL FOR £25,000

help in meeting the unprecedented demands made n the Indian Church in areas in which the Society as large commitments.

£15,000 has been received in response to this appeal since September. Will you help to raise the whole amount?

Contributions for the Emergency Appeal should be sent to the Secretaries:

HURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Salisbury Square, London, E.C.4

STUDINGTON *for Travel*

THE STUDINGTON GOOD COMPANION

No cloth has ever been created which has the charm of a Harris Tweed. It is here seen at its best with Prussian collar and pockets that "go through" The retention of its natural oil renders this cloth rainproof.

Ready-to-Wear or to Measure 5½ Gns. to 7½ Gns.

STUDD & MILLINGTON

LIMITED

51, Conduit Street, Bond Street, W.
67-69, Chancery Lane, Holborn, W.C.

THE ROYAL YAKUTI

A WONDERFUL TONIC RESTORATIVE

Yakuti will tone up the nervous system, strengthen the body and make the mind alert and retentive.

It will make a new being of you! Fitness and energy will be yours!—and it is your *safeguard* against debility.

Why let mental and physical ailments prevent you from enjoying life? Be strong, healthy and full of vitality! Yakuti will give you a fresh start and the effect is lasting.

Yakuti is not a new idea, but an old and valuable Ayurvedic remedy—prepared only from the choicest and richest of vegetable ingredients. It is held in high esteem by Rajahs, Maharajahs and the aristocracy of India, and by others throughout the world. Send today for a tin of 48 pills, price 12s. including postage. C.O.D. orders cannot be executed; the full amount should be remitted by Money Order in advance.

Stocked by Messrs. Kemp & Co., Ltd., Bombay

DR. KALIDAS MOTIRAM,
RAJKOT KATHIAWAR, INDIA

FREE

Gift of Superb Pictorial CALENDAR

VALUE 2/6

Every reader of *The Geographical Magazine* can secure this De Luxe Art Gravure Calendar, comprising 12 photographic studies from the Magazine, absolutely FREE! GIFT COUPON and full particulars of our free offer are in the wonderful Christmas Double Number, price 1/- now on sale at all newsagents, booksellers, &c.

The Geographical Magazine, a British publication with over 40,000 readers, provides Pictures and Stories more exciting than fiction ● Tales of Travel Exploration and Adventure ● Strange Peoples and Little-known Lands ● H.M. King Edward VIII was its first subscriber 1s. Monthly. Annual Sub. 15/- post free

● CHRISTMAS Double Number

FLYING AZTEC DANCERS A Sensation from Unknown Mexico.
SABU—WONDER ELEPHANT BOY with I awatha. Eight living studies in superb photogravure.
BLOOD FEUDS in the Balkans
4 COLOUR Plates "A pine Wonders"
Travel adventures by famous authors:
ROSITA FORBES FREYA STARK
BERNARD NEWMAN, &c

150 PAGES

GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE 1/-

"WORLD REVIEW" CHRISTMAS GIFT OFFER

(SEE INSIDE BACK COVER)

A — ORDER FORM
1 Subscription for 2 years

To WORLD REVIEW
40 Chandos St., London, W.C.2

I enclose remittance value 28s. 0d. for One Subscription to WORLD REVIEW for Two Years, commencing with.....issue, to be sent to:

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Please send receipt and gift book to:

Name .....

Address .....

.....

CHOICE OF BOOK. Please send me, free, Book No.....

B — ORDER FORM
2 Subscriptions for 1 year

To WORLD REVIEW
40 Chandos St., London, W.C.2

I enclose remittance value 28s. 0d. for Two Subscriptions to WORLD REVIEW for One Year, to be sent to the following addresses, commencing with .....issue.

(1) Name.....

Address.....

.....

(2) Name.....

Address.....

.....

Please send receipt and gift book to:

Name.....

Address.....

.....

CHOICE OF BOOK. Please send me, free, Book No .....

For Realists!

CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA

(Editor: LANCELOT LAWTON)

Attains a commendable and uncommon degree of objectivity . . . . of value to all serious students of Soviet affairs.
The Times

An excellent account of the Moscow trial well illustrates how valuable the publication promises to be. *The Observer*

This informative and impartial review will be welcomed by those who are interested in Russian affairs. *The Scotsman*

Price per copy, 1 - quarterly; annual subscription, 5 - post free to all parts of the world; 92 Fleet Street, E.C.4.

Vol. VII
No. 12

London Office:
17 GT. CUMBERLAND PLACE, LONDON, W.1

Price 1/6 per copy
Subscription 12/-

THE ARYAN PATH

Principal December Contents:

1. The Temptations of Jesus - - J. D. Beresford
2. Miracles of Jesus - - - - - - - D. Srinivasan
3. A Medieval Mystic: John Scotus Erigena Margaret Smith
4. Christianity and Life - - M. Chaning-Pearce
5. A European Contribution to the Doctrine of Rebirth - - - - - Sir Alexander Cardew
6. The Hindu Conception of Rebirth G. R. Malkani
7. The Land of Psyche and of Nous A. E. Waite

McGraw-Hill Books

RICH LAND - POOR LAND
By STUART CHASE
361 pages, 8×5½, illustrated. 10/6 net

Stuart Chase, well known to English readers, has written on a theme of particular interest in this country—the destruction of the countryside by unrestricted industrial development.

THE STORY OF BRIDGES
By ARCHIBALD BLACK
226 pages, 9×6, illustrated. 12/6 net.

The story of bridges and bridge building from the first primitive log and vine structures down to the latest miracles of engineering skill. The book is illustrated with sixty-six remarkable photographs collected from all over the world.

DEAR DARK HEAD
An Intimate Story of Ireland
By HELEN LANDRETH
385 pages, 8 × 5½, 10/6 net

A striking history of the Irish people; not content to trust contemporary accounts of recent events, Miss Landreth has visited leaders in Ireland and examined documents and places pertinent to the Easter Rebellion and the political activity of the last few years.

POLITICS
Who gets What, When, How
By HAROLD D. LASSWELL
264 pages, 8 × 5½, 10/6 net

What personalities succeed in politics
What technique do politicians need
How do leaders win loyalty
How do leaders handle violence
What leaders survive depression and recovery

THE BEHAVIOUR OF MONEY
By JAMES W. ANGELL
Professor of Economics, Columbia University
207 pages, 9 × 6. 18/- net

A comprehensive investigation and a systematic analysis of the facts about the behaviour of the money supply. Describes the relations between the quantity and velocity of money, industrial production, commodity prices, retail sales, stock market activity, and similar major economic forces.

McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. Ltd.
Aldwych House, London, W.C.2

BOOKS ON WORLD AFFAIRS AND OTHERS

HINDENBURG
The Wooden Titan
by
J. W. WHEELER-BENNETT
With Illustrations and Maps
21s.

THE MAKING OF MODERN TURKEY
From Byzantium to Angora
by
SIR HARRY LUKE, C.M.G.
Lieut.-Governor of Malta
10s. 6d.

BIG HORSE'S FLIGHT
The Trail of War in Central Asia
by
DR. SVEN HEDIN
With 120 Photographs and Drawings
21s.

THE FAITH OF AN ENGLISHMAN
by
SIR EDWARD GRIGG
D.S.O., M.C., M.P.
10s. 6d.

THE TWO MR. GLADSTONES
by
G. T. GARRATT
Author of "Lord Brougham"
Illustrated
12s. 6d.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE RULE OF LAW
by
SIR ALFRED ZIMMERN
Second Impression
12s. 6d.

MOTHER COUNTRY—FATHERLAND
Story of a British-born German Soldier
by
Col. A. G. MARTIN
Illustrated
15s.

and a brilliant group of novels

HUGH WALPOLE
A Prayer for My Son 7/6
CHARLES MORGAN
Sparkenbroke 8/6
A. G. MACDONELL
Lords and Masters 7/6
MAZO DE LA ROCHE
Whiteoak Harvest 7/6
MARGARET MITCHELL
Gone with the Wind 10/6
STELLA BENSON
Collected Short Stories 7/6

[All prices are net]

PUBLISHED BY ***MACMILLAN***

WORLD REVIEW

Volume II. No. 4. *Incorporating* '*REVIEW OF REVIEWS*' *and* '*WORLD*' *December* 1936

40 CHANDOS STREET
LONDON, W.C.2

Telegrams: BOOKSTORE, LONDON
Telephone: TEMPLE BAR 0127—9

WORLD REVIEW is the only English monthly review giving an extensive selection of articles from publications all over the world. These articles are chosen with great care, since WORLD REVIEW can only be valuable as its sponsors want it to be, if it avoids all political bias. The Editor in his own article, and other signed contributors, express their opinions as frankly as they please. Otherwise the Review would lack force and colour. But the ultimate object of WORLD REVIEW is to perform a useful and progressive service by allowing

THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

"BLIND SPOTS"

by VERNON BARTLETT

I HAVE not, I am thankful to say, ever committed a major crime or in any other way made myself a subject of controversy on the front pages of the newspapers. But I have begun to realise a little how unpleasant it must be to become an unpopular villain. As the result of writing or broadcasting about what I actually saw in Spain, and not about what people expected me to see, I have become the recipient of letters which could hardly be more bitter, reproachful or insulting if I had murdered my grandmother and left her poor body in a cabin trunk at Waterloo Station.

And why? Because I could not accept the view held by their writers that everybody on the government side in Spain was a murderer, a torturer, a Communist paid by Moscow and all the rest of it. One lady who, in private life is, I am convinced, kindly, gentle and civilised, tells me, as though it were a definite and accepted fact, that the Spanish government had "commandeered" all well-educated women and was holding them in Madrid as hostages. Conceivably it will have done by the time this article appears, for the bombardment of a city of a million inhabitants must inevitably make passions very much fiercer and more brutal. But it certainly had done nothing of the

sort when my amiable correspondent wrote to me, and only a fortnight before I had sat outside cafes or in restaurants in Madrid with women bearing names that were famous even in the days of the monarchy, but who had no idea that they had been "commandeered."

It would not have interested my correspondent to know that the son of the Prime Minister, Largo Caballero, and the brother of the present Ambassador in London were both held as hostages by General Franco and had constantly been threatened with death in the hope that these men might be induced to resign from positions which, rightly or wrongly, they conceived it to be their duty to hold. She would quite probably have chuckled with satisfaction because she had made up her mind that everybody on the one side in the Spanish civil war was gallant and chivalrous and everybody on the other was evil and cruel. And any form of pressure to destroy evil and cruelty would have been justified.

* * *

These letters set me wondering about our blind spots and why we have them. These prejudices, as far as I can make out, arise equally from good motives and bad. They are due either to an outraged sense of justice which turns us into Don Quixotes or to a sense of fear which leads us to attack change elsewhere lest it should disturb our own lives and careers. I have a friend who greatly loves a bottle of Moselle or Hock, but his resentment against Herr Hitler is such that he has sworn never to help the Führer out of his financial difficulties to the extent of buying a single bottle of wine from him. He has still plenty of 1929 and 1931 bottles in his cellar, so that he has not as yet suffered grievous hardship, but he will not flinch before hardship when it comes his way. And this same man played German music throughout the war and could find nothing biting enough to say about those strange patriots who, between 1914 and 1918, would have mobbed a man who read a German newspaper or found any similarity between Germans and ordinary human beings.

Such people are, I suppose, moved rather by an acute sense of righteousness and humanity than by an actual feeling of fear. They are so horrified by injustice that they will find no extenuating circumstances for it. They are, consequently, too little interested in removing the conditions which encourage some government to behave like a bully and are too ready to believe that force can be justified as a means

if the end towards which it is to lead is of the lion-lying-down-with-the-lamb order. Hating militarism like the devil, they would nevertheless become the strictest martinets if they were put into uniform. Their blind spots, if I may mix my metaphors, stand out a mile.

* * *

But there are the others whose prejudices are based on fear, and their reactions are more puzzling since fear has so little to do with reason. It is fairly clear, for example, that the interests of the British Empire would suffer less if Spain were to change into two or three Left-wing Republics trying in their own ways to live up to the policies of Lenin or Trotsky than if she were to be welded by force into a militant and nationalist state linked closely with Italy and Germany. Germany has a good claim to colonies, but her demand for them is likely to raise such awkward problems inside the British Commonwealth that no British imperialist wants to encourage her, as he shows whenever any question about mandates is brought up in the House of Commons. Italy has interests in the Mediterranean at least as legitimate as our own, but Signor Mussolini's way of putting them forward cannot ring very sweetly in the ears of those who boast about Gibraltar and Malta, the sea-routes to India or the land route to the Cape.

And yet it is these very imperialists who have done most to arouse enthusiasm for the Spanish rebels and hatred for the Spanish "Reds." For they are impelled by an unreasoning and unreasonable fear lest Communism, reaching our shores from Moscow by way of Madrid, should rob them of their shares and their security. Communism would find the soil of Spain far less fertile even than that of Germany, where the preliminary condition of subservience to the state already exists. But the landed gentry of Spain, the Catholic priests, and the army officers who have upheld the old order regardless of the poverty of the masses are now getting it in the neck. Immediately our own landed gentry, our own country parsons and our own officers at Aldershot forget the different conditions and remember the ties of class. Immediately Imperial interests are put aside. Immediately the brutality of the Spanish rebels is classed as good healthy discipline for the restoration of order and the brutality of the Spanish loyalists—far less organised and in a way less inexcusable since it is committed by people who have never had the advantages of authority and education—is castigated as the wickedness of Beelzebub.

A few days ago a supporter of General Franco was assuring me most indignantly that the report of the murder of some 1,500 loyalists in the bull-ring at Badajoz was a disgusting lie. "I was there two days later," he told me, "and I'm sure there weren't more than six hundred." Then he proceeded to tell me the usual stories about corpses lying around the outskirts of Madrid. Those corpses are there in numbers sufficiently great to spread doubts as to how soon the Caballero government could enforce order if the rebel campaign were to collapse, but there are not nearly enough of them to excuse the belief that Spain would be better off under a Franco government supported by men like General Cabanellas, whom even General Primo de Rivera dismissed as incompetent, or Señor Merry del Val, who was looked upon as the most reactionary diplomat in London even in the remote days of the Great War.

* * *

Feeling runs high over Spain, as it did formerly over Russia, because religious and reactionary indignation over events there happen to coincide. Terrible tortures of nuns in Valencia were reported in a great London newspaper, but my inquiries on the spot brought no confirmation whatsoever. As a British business resident remarked to me, he knew nothing about it but then he'd seen no British newspapers. On the other hand, the Archbishop's Palace was as thoroughly destroyed as any building I have ever seen, which had not been subjected to the attentions of heavy artillery. People over here are naturally horrified by photographs of smashed religious images, burnt religious pictures and political insults scribbled up on church walls. They do not realise that within a hundred yards of that Archbishop's Palace in Valencia is a little gallery from which earlier Archbishops watched heretics being burnt at the stake, and no reactionary newspaper, written by men whose principal sensation is fear, is going to help them towards that realisation. By every method known to the propagandist religious and humanitarian feelings are enlisted on the side of the old order.

But how absurd it is to imagine that the events of Germany, Russia or Spain could possibly be repeated in Great Britain. We in this country have not lived through Germany's humiliation of defeat and despair of inflation. Our people can read and write as millions of Spaniards and Russians were never taught to do. Our clergy

have not hindered education and their old, grey churches fit harmoniously into village life, while the Spanish churches dominate it. Generations of parliamentary and municipal government have robbed British revolutionaries of their arguments and inspiration. The brutality and ruthlessness which accompany reform in Spain have as little place in our own country as have the harsh light and shade of a Spanish landscape.

* * *

There is, perhaps, only one country in Europe today where there is a movement towards totalitarianism of the Right or the Left worthy of our close attention, and that is in Belgium. If the Rexist leader, M. Léon Degrelle, were to win there one would, for the first time, have doubts about the safety in Great Britain of that " freedom of the spirit " to which Mr. Stanley Baldwin referred in his Guildhall speech last month. For Belgian conditions are so nearly repeated in Great Britain.

You have the same large middle-class, the same concentration on industry to the disadvantage of agriculture, the same dependence on foreign trade, the same slow recovery from the crisis, the same coalition government which cannot reach rapid and dramatic decisions. And in M. Degrelle you have a young man far less intelligent than Sir Oswald Mosley and in M. van Zeeland a young prime minister far more successful than Mr. Baldwin. If Degrelle should win, then the reluctance of our own government to stand up in defence of liberalism (with a small " l ") against all this domineering nationalism might with every justification alarm people with a keen sense of justice or religion. Or, for that matter, people whose fear for the established order drives them to believe any lie about the " Reds " in Spain. For our landed gentry and our city magnates would be almost as likely to lose their shares and their security under Fascism as under Communism. Only they are too blind to realise it.

It is not worth while sending me reproachful letters about my own blind spots, for I am quite ready to believe that they are many. Perhaps one of them hides from me a lot of things which would otherwise convince me that the best way to defend democracy is to allow the dictators to bluff it out of existence.

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles.

"The Sunflower is Dead."

"BUY a Roosevelt rose." So the hawkers shouted down the Great White Way in New York on November 4. Others carried placards with the legend, "I told you so." Well and truly had the sunflower, the badge of Governor Landon, been outblossomed by the field of roses from America's Hyde Park.

Tammany gossips claimed that the President was a little dissatisfied with the lack of unanimity among the States. He was supposed, in fact, to be thinking of returning Maine and Vermont to England.

The Straw that Failed

Many Wall Street Republicans had made the mistake of relying on the *Literary Digest* "straw" poll with its forecast of an even vote. The more disgusted are now predicting an early merger of the *Digest* with *Ballyhoo*.

High Hat

The President recorded his vote at Hyde Park on November 3 with a dignified simplicity which even the camera barrage could not spoil. Al Smith made a popular appearance at the fashionable Madison Avenue polling booth wearing his famous brown derby (*anglice* bowler) and smoking an expensive cigar.

Governor Landon's appearance at the polls of Independence, Kansas, accompanied by his wife and flock of children, was greeted with less enthusiasm.

"Alf, where's your high hat?" yelled a fellow voter.

"I haven't any high hat," the candidate replied meekly. "I still wear the same size."

Even that is, perhaps, too large for him now.

Pathos in the Pantry

A victory cake covered with red, white and blue icing, the colours of the G.O.P. (Grand Old Party—the Republicans), had been prepared at the Landon home in Topeka. Mrs. Landon hesitated before sending it back to the pantry. "We have waited too long to cut it," she sighed, "but I am still proud of Alf."

Our Alf

It was that Christian name which made Washington hostesses predict Mr. Landon's failure. Alfred was socially possible, but never Alf. Yet it was the Governor himself, a good democrat (small "d"), who first insisted on modifying his original name in order to convince the boys, as they seemed a bit doubtful, that he was one of themselves.

"Just watch the elephant (symbol of Republicanism) when it sees Alf land on its back," the Democrats had cried with painful humour.

The poor beast collapsed.

Sultan of the West

The American newspaper Pasha, William Randolph Hearst, took the defeat of his cause in good part. During the election campaign he had tried to convict the President of Red sympathies, with the aid of a Komintern document unearthed in Estonia; but when the results were known he published a magnanimous personal message.

"If Mr. Roosevelt," he declared, "is a good President, the

Hearst newspapers will support him again." For the benefit of the uninitiated, a "good President" reduces taxation.

Cranks' Corner

Father Coughlin has decided to fade peacefully out. That he should be allowed to do so shows the comparative mildness of the times we live in. His forerunner at the beginning of the last century, Mr. T. Spence, who published a treatise in which he claimed that "every man, woman and child was entitled quarterly to an equal share of the rents of the parish where they have settled," received far worse handling. Like the Russians today, Mr. Spence also advocated that a Sabbath should be held every fifth day and given over to rest and enjoyment. But the only fruits of this unhappy visionary's labours were a fine of $50 and a sentence of a year's imprisonment for "seditious libel."

A Master of English

Señor Salvador de Madariaga, who is a contributor this month, is equally popular in Oxford and Geneva. Having first settled in England during the War, Señor de Madariaga soon mastered our language with the aid of his Scottish wife. He became so proficient that, when Professor of Spanish Studies at Oxford, he was not only able to write books in English but to hold his own at the Union with such famous wits as the late Lord Birkenhead.

League Star

Although coming from a family with a long military tradition, de Madariaga was trained as an engineer. It was not until after the War that he emerged as a Conference personality. He joined the League Secretariat in 1921 and later became head of the ill-fated Disarmament Section. After a few years as Professor at Oxford, he was swept by the Spanish Revolution into the post of Ambassador in Washington. But neither there nor as Minister of Education in Madrid did he ever feel as much at home as in Geneva. Last year he sprang into the limelight again when he presided over the Committee of thirteen which condemned the Italian invasion of Abyssinia.

Dark and small, with eyes sparkling behind horn-rimmed spectacles, and a nose which the caricaturists always turn into a beak, he is as alert in gesture as in conversation. His appearance, charm and vivacity

have earned him in League circles the nickname of another international favourite, Mickey Mouse.

Sabotage

When Herr von Ribbentrop went to hear *Der Rosenkavalier* at Covent Garden, someone accidentally dropped a spanner on a grating in the middle of the first act. Madame Marta Fuchs, who was singing, went on as before. But the really big spanner had already been thrown into the works by Messrs. Goering and Goebbels. With true *Schadenfreude*, they decided that the new Ambassador was not to have such an easy passage as he had hoped for on his arrival in England. To take him down a peg, they irritated the whole of this country with tactless references to colonies. But von Ribbentrop, like the above-mentioned prima donna, has always been an artist in his own line. In other words, a good salesman, whether of champagne or of German friendships, never gets rattled.

"Scratch 'em"

The French Radical-Socialists are to be congratulated on having discovered a fitting and symbolic alternative both to the clenched fist and to the Fascist salute. It is to scratch the head with both hands. Or if it isn't that, it looks like it.

The Price of a Cigar

Sir Basil Zaharoff has vanished for the umpteenth time. In his absence, he may forgive me for telling yet another story about his methods of overcoming resistance to arms sales.

The object, in this case, was to sell guns to the Russian Army (pre-War). A certain major, who held an influential position at the Russian War Office, had preferences for the Skoda factory. Zaharoff laid his open cigarette case on the table. In addition to its usual contents, it held a thousand rouble note.

Sir Basil looked aside, the officer lit a cigarette, the note disappeared. After a few puffs, the major threw the cigarette away, saying, "I really prefer cigars." Another ten thousand roubles in a

box of the best havanas brought Zaharoff the contract.

Mr. Philip Noel-Baker can have this as a gift for his second volume on the Arms " racket."

The New Chanty

In Paris, the Senate is said to have already separated from the Government and to be now on the verge of divorce. The recent interpellation of M. Blancho, Under-secretary of State for the Navy, shows the way the wind is blowing. M. Blancho went to visit various ports. At most of these the dockyard hands greeted him with clenched fists and the singing of the Red Flag. In one case this indiscipline spread itself to seven sailors from a submarine, afterwards found to have been drunk, as well as to M. Blancho's orderly officer. The words of one of the songs sung by these left-wing enthusiasts were calculated to make French patriots uneasy. They ran somewhat as follows :

> " If cannibals force us to pull up our slacks,
> We'll tell them our shots are for admirals' backs."

The Senate deplored the whole affair in a firm resolution.

THE SOULLESS BLACK

Their morale (that of Negro stevedores unloading American ships in France during the War) was low. When General Pershing sought to inspire them to greater endeavour by promising that those who did the best work might hope for transfer to combat units on the fighting front, enthusiasm was wholly lacking. It was evident that some other kind of inducement was a necessity.—*New York Times.*

NEVER TOO LATE

" Old " George Meil (a Negro) who recently celebrated his 107th birthday, has been confirmed and baptised in the Dutch Reformed Mission Church at Hoopstad. He has never married. Recently he walked a distance of more than twenty miles in search of a wife, but he failed in his quest.—*The Friend, Bloemfontein.*

THE OPEN FORUM

THE LEAGUE: ITS DEFEAT AND ITS VICTORY

by SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing the opinions they set out, frank articles by men of international fame. Our contributor this month, Salvador de Madariaga, professor, politician and diplomat, is probably better known to British readers than any other living Spaniard. Connected with the League of Nations, first as a member of the Secretariat and then as a delegate of his country, he has won for himself a great reputation as a pioneer of international thought. He here deals with the future of the League.

THERE is the optimism of the man who refuses to look at the facts—or of the ostrich. From that, God protect us. There is the optimism of the propagandist or of the advocate. Sheer dishonesty. Let us pass without looking, as Dante advises us to do. But there is the optimism of the man who knows that the mills of God grind slowly. I will be content with that in examining whether the failure of the League is after all as hopeless as some of its friends fear and all its enemies proclaim.

The test cases have been that of Manchuria and that of Abyssinia. They are astonishingly alike. They repay study, first from the point of view of the aggressor, then from the point of view of the attacked State, finally from that of the League. And, even then, there will be something to say from the point of view of the World Community.

To take Manchuria first. *There is the point of view of Japan.* A rising nation, one of the latest comers to the Banquet of Empires, finds all roads of imperial expansion closed, her race shut out of America, "discouraged" everywhere else; a spirit of service and

sacrifice to the national God stirring deeply her youth and her armed forces—while opposite her, in shores perilously near her own, an immense but inchoate mass of over-populated, over-sophisticated Chinese fail to make their Republic emerge from their permanent civil wars. The Japanese looked round. They saw a world of Empires, two of the most important of which had added considerably to their already mighty domains by recent conquests. They saw the elastic way in which most principles were being interpreted even in Principopolis, *videlicet* Geneva. They observed how, in 1927, England spoke in Shanghai the language of bayonets and how China, even under cover of the League of Nations, was still the battleground for the conflicting ambitions of the big powers. And, Covenant or no Covenant, Japan struck.

From the point of view of China: it is true that the Revolution met with serious difficulties; Tu Chuns, political intrigues, the irrelevant and yet essential issue of communism—not to speak of graft in politics and administration, and of the obstacles to good government opposed by the lack of communications and by the interference of foreign devils. Yet, if left alone and guaranteed her external security by the League, China would make good, particularly if provided by Geneva with expert advice without political bias. The League must defend her against the aggressor. What is the use of Article 16? Of course, in case the League does not, China will not break relations with Japan—you never can tell—but the European nations should, in order to punish the recalcitrant State.

Why Britain Hesitated

From the point of view of the League: whatever the reasons, Japan has broken the Covenant. She is the aggressor. We must say so. Of course, we must be careful, because we have no means of enforcing the Covenant other than the combined fleets of the great Powers, including the United States. Now, we do not know how the United States will react. Moreover, our own public opinion is divided. China is very far away, and then, she is such a queer country, the mother of puzzles. Who knows but that she is not negotiating with Japan all the time. At any rate, she has not broken relations with Japan. Odd, isn't it? And then, Singapore is in danger and our fleet rather depleted and necessary at home in these unstable times...

Finally, we have interests in common with Japan and with every other country with privileges in China...

You may say—but that is not the League point of view! And the answer will be: That is the point of view of the League as it actually works out. And all you miss here will be said when taking up the point of view of the World Community.

But let us first look at the Abyssinian case.

And to begin with, *the point of view of Italy.* Another latecomer to the table of Empires, Italy finds herself in a period of expansion and conquest which in England is less in the fashion now than it was in the days of Cecil Rhodes, just as appetite is less in the fashion after than before a meal. Her natural lines of expansion have all been occupied by nations which had "got up earlier." Abyssinia? Why not? A nice little arrangement was made with England in 1926, and then all kinds of those treaties of protection, amity and respect for integrity which are the diplomatic prelude to military occupation of colonial territories by European nations. True, there was the Covenant. But fascist Italy had never believed in the sincerity of the Powers to stand by it and the Machiavellian political philosophy of fascism prevented her from seeing in the League anything but an instrument—good or bad—for Italy's greatness. And so, Italy struck.

Abyssinia Not a Fair Test Case

*From the point of view of Abyssinia.....*but is it possible to speak of Abyssinia? A State half in the making, half in the disintegrating stages, struggling with its own incompetence and with its rebellious subject tribes, Abyssinia could not provide for the League a fair test case. In fact, the weak point in the League case was that its machinery had not been sufficient to prevent the entry of Abyssinia into an organisation so delicately balanced between rights and responsibilities, merely because it suited France and Italy that she should enter.

Nevertheless, from the League point of view, the attack on Abyssinia could not be tolerated, at any rate in theory, for it is evident that, once in the Covenant, the Abyssinian State was entitled to protection and, what is graver still, the Covenant was attacked in her. So, there was the declaration of aggression and there was the attempt at applying Article 16. But here, again, the Powers had to be careful.

The French Government was evidently pledged to Rome. The British Government was hindered by the dubious policy of France and by the perennial danger of Berlin. The Fleet again.....Like a man who owns a gold coin but hesitates before every occasion for spending it for fear a better occasion may turn up later, Great Britain thinks twice before risking her best asset. "Perhaps economic sanctions, the rainy season, and the army of the Negus will vindicate the Covenant." This motley combination did not work. And "the League" failed.

Now the time has come to look at things from the point of view of the World Community. Here is the world inhabited by some fifteen hundred million human beings. It is grouped into small communities known as families which weave themselves into peoples, some of whom still live lives of almost savage simplicity while others have risen to almost perfectly coordinated nationhood. What is our real problem ? It is, I take it, twofold : to guide political evolution in such a way that the world comes to constitute a political and economic community as well ordered as that of the best organised nations ; and, meanwhile, to preserve peace so as to spare mankind the disastrous effects of its own genius for destruction.

Was the League's Failure Unfortunate?

We are now in a position to estimate the Manchurian and the Abyssinian cases as well as the situation of the League from a clear platform of concrete ideas. To take the long view first, it is evident that the prevalence of a positive law and of an ethical principle in the relations between nations is an indispensable, nay, an essential condition for the existence of a world community at all. Therefore, the violations of the Covenant by Japan and by Italy were actions directly contrary to the best interests of the evolution of mankind as seen everywhere by its best free minds.

But it does not follow :

(*a*) either that the triumph of the League by force in both cases would have been in the best interests of mankind, or

(*b*) that the failure of the League to vindicate the law of nations by force of arms is an unfortunate event from the point of view of the interests of mankind.

I know that both these propositions are provocative. May I justify them ?

The triumph of the League, in both cases, could only have been achieved by the actual use, or by a substantial threat of the use, of the naval forces of Great Britain. Now, in the present state of world evolution, such an action would in actual fact imply a "substantive" victory of Great Britain over Japan and over Italy and a merely "adjective" victory of the League. No one, not even the most sincere and convinced League enthusiasts were able at the time to separate the imperial interests of Great Britain in Asia and in the Mediterranean from the moral interests of the League.

Now, this, I submit, is a most unhealthy situation from the point of view of the World Community. For the fact that the real impulse behind the arm of the League would have come from an imperial interest—however legitimate—would have done more harm to the evolution of the world towards its unity than the present situation of defeat and of passive acquiescence in the unpleasantly inevitable. The more so as the Power called out to uphold the Law had in both cases taken action open to serious objections from the point of view of the Covenant—in Shanghai in 1927, and in Abyssinia in 1926.

"*Mucha,*" *Warsaw*

BRITAIN'S PACT PROPS

"*Nebelspalter,*" *Switzerland*

PEACE ANGEL—NEW STYLE

So much for the value of a hypothetical military triumph of the League in the now two famous cases. But what about the value of its actual defeat? Let us remember that we are in fact aiming at an organisation of the world into a well ordered community. Evidently, the condition without which such an aim cannot be attained is that the consciousness of a world community should exist in a considerable leading minority throughout the planet. This being the case, every event likely to stimulate the awakening of world citizenship is to be welcomed. Now, while a military triumph, obtained by inducing an imperial interest to serve itself by serving the League, would have given rise to a long and deep wave of scepticism after the first flush of optimistic elation, the defeat of the League, on the contrary, after a first phase of depression, is bound to bear fruit of thought. Why have we failed?

I do not propose to answer this question fully. It would require quite a nice little volume. But a few reasons for the failure may suffice to reach a useful conclusion: these reasons may be grouped according to whether we consider the League as an instrument for immediate action under Article 16 or as the beginning of a world executive.

Not an Instrument of War

As an instrument of immediate action the League is bound to fail in all grave cases. This follows from the fact that the League cannot be considered as an efficient instrument of war! That such a statement should be necessary and even bold, instead of an appalling truism, is a proof of the twist inflicted on world opinion by the world environment into which the League was born. Even universal, the League would be but an inefficient association for the use of force, since such an activity would imply the reversal of the normal current of cooperation between the States remaining faithful to the Covenant and the Covenant-breaking State—a reversal which would be bound to meet with reluctance in every case and with resistance in some, enough of them considerably to reduce the efficiency of the whole. Even unanimous in her political councils, the League would be afflicted by the deadly inefficiency of all military coalitions.

But, moreover, the League is not universal. Three great Powers remain out of it and one within it wishes it dead and does not hide the

fact. In these conditions, it was surely natural to expect that the League should not have been able to go beyond moral action in its two major cases. The lesson from that experience is therefore that it is wrong to think of the League in terms of a system for coercing nations into good behaviour.

League as Future World State

But then, what *is* the League good for? The answer is obvious. The League is a manifestation of the unity of the World Commonwealth in the realm of institutions. It is the material and tangible kernel of the future world State. We must preserve it from this point of view, even though insufficient to solve our immediate problems, just as, in the early days, the kings of England kept going their court with its rudimentary civil service for the sake of an England to be.

In the end, war is not going to be banished by war—nor, therefore, by war-like preparations for a war in vindication of the Law of nations. It is going to be banished by an evolution towards world government. Then, the true line of reform for the League is by no means the rendering of Article 16 more efficient as an instrument of holy war, but the development of the League as an instrument of government. Powers must get used to governing world affairs through the League. Instead of bringing their troubles to the League when they are in such a parlous condition that there is nothing left but sanctions, they must put before the Council and the Assembly all world affairs from their inception as a matter of course. Then and only then shall the League come into its own.

Meanwhile, it is not quite correct to say that the League has failed since the League has not been tried.

WASP EMIGRANTS

Some 1,500,000 Hungarian wasps were transported recently in a Dutch plane from Budapest to London on their way to Canada, where their services are required to defend crops against the attacks of Colorado beetles and other insects. —*Christian Science Monitor, Boston.*

THE ONE AND ONLY

The Red Army is the only army in the world which exists, not for war, not for the conquest of territory and enslavement of other peoples, but solely for the defence of its great proletarian State.—*Marshal Voroshilov.*

FROM A GENEVA NOTEBOOK

by ULYSSES

(Our Geneva Correspondent)

What can the League do to be saved? Start on economic evils, as the root cause of war, say the reformers questioned by our Geneva observer.

IT is surely a significant fact that an analysis of the replies of governments to the request for suggestions for reforming the Covenant, shows that none of them consider such reformation to be necessary in any vital part. Most of their suggestions, indeed, move in the direction of strengthening the Covenant rather than weakening it in order to make it easier for those States who reject the idea of collective security to remain in or re-enter the League.

The now considerable correspondence on this subject between Geneva and the various capitals of the world shows, I think, that one of the objects of those who framed the Covenant has been obtained. They intended that document to be the least common multiple or lowest common denominator of what States could be expected to agree to. Those who accept its provisions and who have replied with proposals regarding its amendment clearly take this view. They do not want the Covenant altered and are of opinion, to use a phrase current in Geneva for the last few months, that it is not the Covenant which is at fault but the governments behind it.

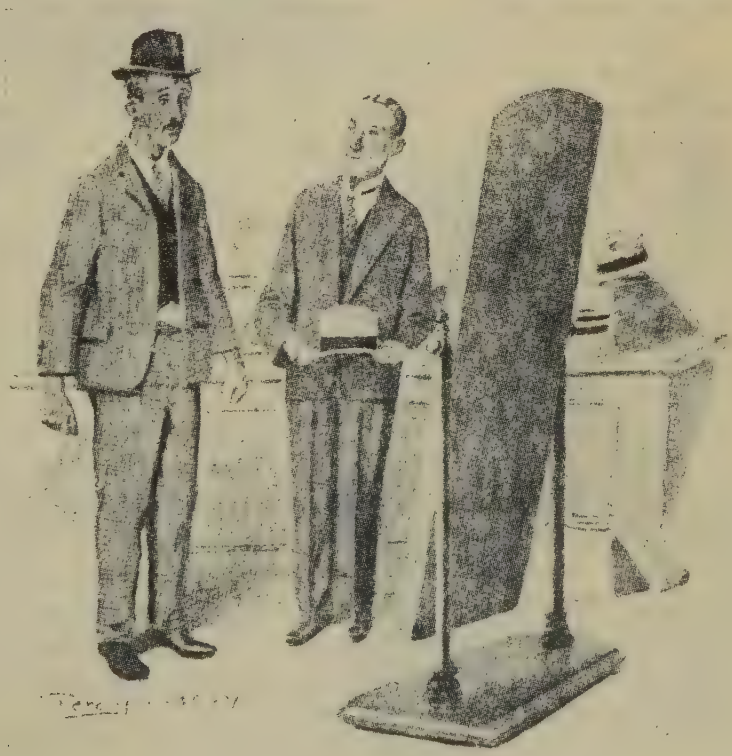
I have, however, stimulated, I admit, by my recent controversy with Mrs. Swanwick, sought to obtain the views of those who regard the recent failures of the League as equivalent to a series of blows so deadly as to kill it in its present form. I will endeavour to give those views as accurately as I can.

This class of League reformer appears to me to think along the following lines. The Covenant, it says, was drawn up at a moment when a conflict between those who desired to make an old-fashioned brutal peace as the result of a brutal war, and those who wished to extend the hand of friendship immediately to the fallen enemy, was acute. The result of that conflict was an uneasy compromise. The Covenant was drawn up by persons who may loosely be described as idealists, but revised by lawyers with a constant eye on the preoccupa-

tions of those statesmen like Clemenceau who were determined to exploit the victory of the Allies to the full. In order to meet in some measure the demands of the "idealists" the Covenant was tacked on to the Peace Treaties, or more properly speaking, put at their beginning. Otherwise it would never have been adopted. The result of this uneasy compromise, say these reformers, was at once apparent. As soon as the United States discovered that the ex-enemy countries were not to be allowed to be parties to the Covenant, they rejected it. From that moment the Covenant in its present form was doomed. Its whole effect depends on the possibility of applying it universally, and if it cannot be so applied then it is worse than useless, because it is dangerous.

These reformers urge that the time has now come to face the fact that the League was created merely to provide machinery whereby States could be forced to talk about a problem before settling it by force of arms. Had the League existed in 1914, war might not have

"All the young men are wearing that model, sir. It's called the Anthony Eden"



"Sydney Bulletin," Australia

been prevented, but at any rate Sir Edward Grey would not have failed in his attempt to summon a conference because such a conference would automatically have been provided by the existence of the Council. That, they say, was the object of the League, and should at any rate, for many years to come, be its only object. To go further and to seek to provide means for enforcing on a State which does not wish to accept them the conclusions reached by the conference, is at once to enter the kingdom of the "idealists," and therefore to bring about the crushing failures of Manchukuo or Abyssinia. The League must get back to the conference idea, and limit itself to that and to nothing else. Only thus can it survive if it is to survive at all. In support of this contention, they go on to urge that as the root causes of war and of quarrels between States are nearly always economic, the League should concentrate first and last upon the economic field. In this it should seek to regain some of the power, an entirely fictitious power, which it will lose by abandoning Articles 10 and 16. Along this way lies the path of safety.

Nobody, they finally maintain, certainly nobody in a State whose government is still of a democratic kind, will fight at the bidding of the League unless his conscience tells him that he must do so, and his conscience can never tell him that as long as the League has not suggested reasonable reforms in the economic field which will take away the root causes of war. That this task will occupy the League for many years they do not deny, nor have I been able to discover what action it is proposed to take during the period in which the League is seeking this economic reform, nor, finally, do the supporters of this view explain whether the present economic system based on capitalism is to endure or not.

I note that the Editor of this REVIEW has given Mrs. Swanwick the last word in our controversy. Perhaps, however, he will allow me to say that his own words contain an answer to what I conceive to be the crux of the matter, for he answers the question, "Is there a single occasion on which desire to conciliate by subordinating justice to expediency has, in fact, led to conciliation" by an emphatic negative. In that I am content fully to agree with him. Most of the world passionately wants peace and if the League cannot secure it for them, then it had better perish.

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH

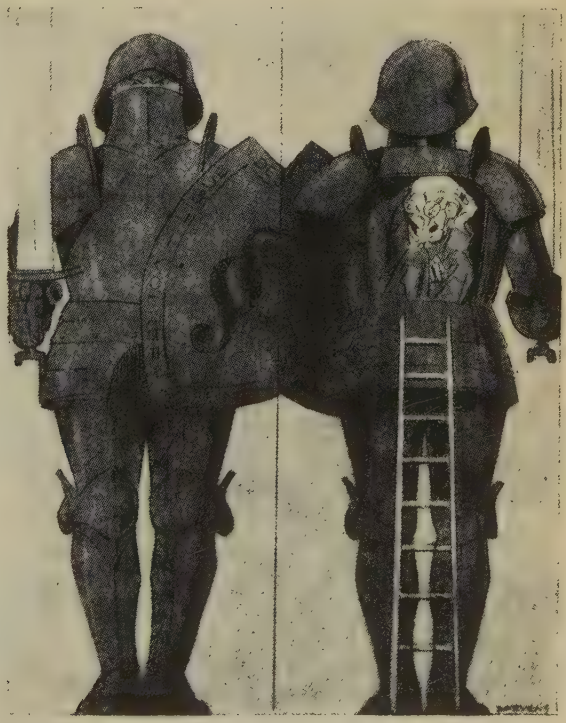
GOERING—MEPHISTOPHELES STANDS BEHIND SCHACHT-FAUST

"Now, doctor, do not falter! On!

Thrust bravely! I shall parry . . ."

(Faust)

Doewe, "Haagsche Post," The Hague



THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—BACK AND FRONT VIEWS

Garvens, "Kladderadatsch," Berlin

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin

RECRUITING CARES

Britannia: "There have been very few fish ever since the red sewers started draining into the Thames."

"Marianne," Paris

How a family drama began.

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

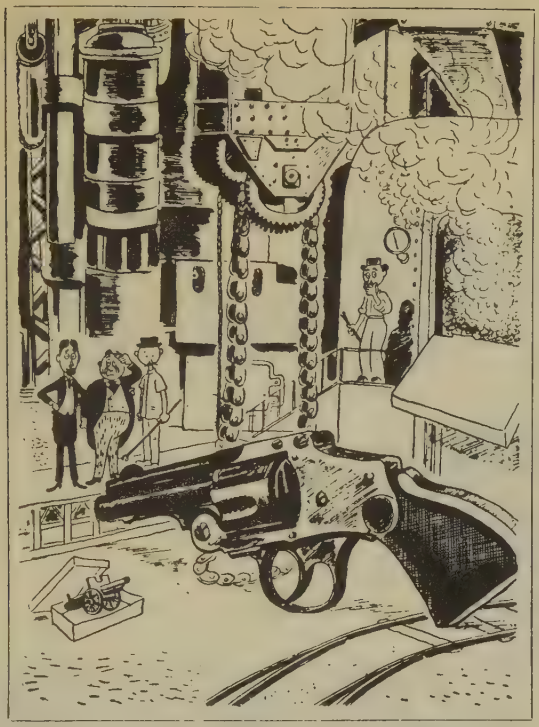
"What happened on November 11, 1918?"

"That was the day when mama had such fun with the American soldiers on the boulevards."

"Simplicissimus," Munich

BELGIUM RETIRES INTO PRIVATE LIFE

"Blessed is the man who can sit tranquilly at home by his fireside, smoking his pipe of peace."



"Il Travaso delle idee," Rome

Engineer: "I don't know how this happened. Somebody must have made a mistake with the measurements"

"Marc Aurelio," Rome

"So you will escape with me tonight?"
"Impossible"
"Why? Are you in chains?"
"No. I'm a warder"

"Prager Presse," Prague

"Have you a permit for demonstrations?"

"Sovietskoié Iskoustvo," Moscow

SELF CRITICISM

"Won't you take us up to the third floor? They've forgotten to put in the stairs"

THE RETURN OF THE MOOR

Fitzpatrick
"St. Louis Post-Dispatch," U.S.A.

"Heraldo de Madrid"

NON-INTERVENTION COMMITTEE

"Yes, gentlemen. We have ascertained that not only has there been no intervention, but there is no civil war in Spain, and there is, indeed, doubt whether such a country as Spain exists."

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

RUSSIAN HELP

Spaniards : "Food at last !"

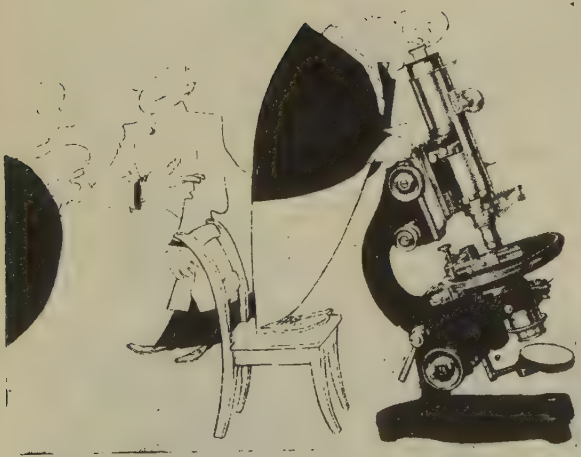
Russian : "No ! But we have brought you a beautiful load of manifestoes and propaganda !"

"Marianne," Paris

"The Russians are starving: they are about to seize Germany's caviar-fields!"

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin

France: "Whose lead?"
England and Italy: "Mine!"

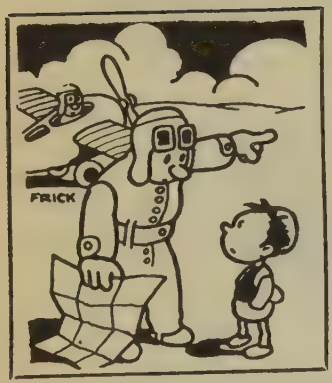


"Nebelspalter," Switzerland

"Here, gentlemen, you can examine through a powerful microscope the spirit that unites the nations!"

"Marianne," Paris

"The doctor told me to stay at a place 3,000 feet up and the hotel is only 2,990 feet"



PARIS-SAIGON AIR RACE
(in which none of the competitors finished)

"Tell me, young native, what is that town on the horizon?"

"That's Fontainebleau, sir!"

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

Schoolmaster Eden, to bad boys Mussolini and Goering:
"Now, now, that won't do!"

"Haagsche Post," The Hague

"First with one finger . . . . . then a duet with me!"

MIRACLE OVER MADRID

SINCE to non-intervention pledged all round
In Spain's despairing stand against oppression,
The Nations meet, to that nice balance bound
Of perfect candour with complete discretion,
Which the late League long sought but never found,
Since sub-committees in unsleeping session
Checkmate by their Promethean exertions
Indelicate exposures and aspersions,

Since, with punctilio for its only guide,
This monument to faith and hope and charity,
Unanimously vetoed and denied
Accounts of Portuguese irregularity
By which the Soviet, plotting to divide,
Only improved the general solidarity,
And since the council with its silenced critic
Continues powerfully paralytic,

Wonders and miracles alone explain,
In view of international abstention,
How Moors arrive as patriots of Spain
Armed to the teeth by heavenly intervention,
While, shipped from nowhere, for the rebels' gain,
Impervious to detection and detention,
Tanks, aircraft and artillery make landing
Baffling the Sub-Committee's understanding !

Thus, though Madrid, hell-raked by shot and shell,
Fall, by no kindred miracle protected,
But mere civilians resolved to dwell
Under a rule by their own voice elected,
Though their makeshift defence may not repel
Cold massacre from foreign planes directed,
Though death invade, and fire consume the city
No blame, thank God, rests on the Sub-Committee !

REYNARD.

THE NATIONS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

MEDITERRANEAN: MARE NOSTRUM? —

Rivalries in the Mediterranean have now replaced the Polish Corridor, the Rhineland or Austria as Public Anxiety Number One in the Foreign Offices of Europe. Writers from several different countries here discuss the chances of Anglo-Italian agreement or conflict, and rather anticipate the conflict

BETTER FRIENDS OR —

From "La Stampa," Turin

THE British Press has entangled itself in contradictions. They cannot deny the principle, according to which freedom in the Mediterranean is for us an essential condition of life; but from this they are incapable of drawing the only possible conclusion, *i.e.*, the necessity of arriving at a *frank*, *rapid* and *complete* understanding, as outlined by the Duce, on grounds of absolute equality.

At once the usual alarm bursts forth as to the safeguarding of other States threatened by presumed Italian expansionism, when it is well known that London is aiming at a coalition of the Mediterranean States to isolate and choke Italy. Britain's insane policy during the African war and after the proclamation of the Empire has brought matters to such a pitch that there can no longer be any question of half-measures: either we are to be loyal friends without petty deceptions and quibblings, or else declared enemies. We are for the first horn of the dilemma, but the second hypothesis does not intimidate us.

The *sine qua non* for clarification of our relations is that a stop be put to the policy of diplomatic and strategic encirclement, of which the immediate consequence should be a reciprocal agreement on the passages into and out of the Mediterranean. It is well to repeat here that in Europe everything is interdependent. If the Italo-British

atmosphere is not improved, the possibility of discussions and agreements on the Continent will become very problematical.

Will the Governments of France and England, under the weight of their responsibilities and conscious of a continual aggravation of the situation, have more liberal and open minds than writers of articles in their countries? We wish it might be so, but we dare not hope: it is probable that parliamentary prejudices and personal resentment will end by having the upper hand. Although we may be embittered by such a conclusion, we will pursue our way; we are not alone; there are other nations which the Duce's words have stirred in sympathy. Fate is never against young peoples capable of every sacrifice.

Nobody wishes to deny Britain's interests in the Mediterranean, even if they do not attain the vital importance of Italy's; not only that, nobody wishes to threaten them. But it is essential that these reciprocal positions should be clarified. Words are but words, and even those uttered by Eden, although by their tone they constitute a retrograde step compared with Lord Halifax's statements in the House of Lords, do not close the door to some future happy initiative; but it is the spirit and the facts that count. And we are confronted with the bitter fact that the whole of the British policy in the Mediterranean, both on the diplomatic and on the strategic side, was and is governed by the same mentality which controlled the English attitude to Italy

ALL SAINTS

St. Anthony of England to St. Yvon of France:

"He looks like St. Adolf, and yet he might be St. Benito . . ."

"He is probably St. Holy Roman-Germanic Empire"

"Marianne," Paris

during the Abyssinian campaign.

Unfortunately, Eden's words, to say the least, leave matters static. It is only natural that we should suspect that English politics, both in the Mediterranean and on the Continent, are governed today by the idea of gaining time so as to bring to completion England's staggering armaments programme.

DYNAMIC DICTATOR

From the "National-Zeitung," Basle

TO reach an understanding, all-round sacrifices are necessary and it is just these which the dictatorships, for psychological reasons, are unable to make, because they are so much more dependent than others on their prestige. The renunciations demanded from them can only be made psychologically intelligible to their peoples as a sort of "perpetual success." Since no nation wishes to bear the burden of sacrifice and war-service for nothing (the famous slogan is, of course, that "the sacrifices must not be made in vain"), the claim to external successes must not come to an end. In technical language: the static policy of preserving peace becomes the dynamic policy of uninterrupted individual successes.

An excellent example of this peculiar development of politics is the great speech which Mussolini made recently in Milan. He rejected the ideas of disarmament, collective security, indivisible peace and even of the League itself, merely because these ideas, which are closely connected with the static policy of understanding, have no place in his own dynamic programme of self-preservation.

His Abyssinian expedition marked his rupture with the ideas of static Europe, from which he must now continue to stand apart. If any government in Europe today still thinks that Mussolini can be persuaded to give up his principles of political psychology, such an assumption can only imply an unpardonable mis-reading of the psychological basis of dictatorship. Contrary to all geographical and military reality, Mussolini, in his own words, declared that Italy was an island—and his people will be happy to think of themselves as islanders, because the natural corollary of the idea of an "island" is isolation for the purpose of looking after one's own interests. Mussolini

spoke very sharply against England. He told the English: "What you have been by reason of your geographical position, from which you have derived great advantages, Italy is from now on by reason of its designation as an island."

And the Mediterranean, on whose coasts live yet other nations, becomes *mare nostrum*, because it was once surrounded by the Roman Empire. This definition, too, has a purely psychological origin—very aptly chosen for the purpose of arousing enthusiasm—without the background of rational reality.

Everywhere where there are dictatorships symbols are used as psychological expedients, and it would be foolish for other States to believe that pure reason is stronger than symbols. In one way or another the whole world is being grouped in masses; and dictators are mass-leaders. They must work with those psychological means which appeal to the masses. Of these means cold reason is the worst and least effective. The distinction made by Mussolini between the significance of the Mediterranean for Italy and for England must be looked at from this standpoint, as must the threat of what he would do if England did not accept his point of view. In Mussolini's eyes, the Mediterranean is for England a short-cut to India and nothing more, whereas for Italy it is life itself. England did not miss the threat, but is following her traditional policy, which—and this is the greatest factor in England's past successes—does not make a lot of noise but steadfastly follows facts until it can speak and act at the same time

"*Libertad*," *Madrid*

PRECARIOUS SUPPORT

"*Le Canard Enchaîné*," *Paris*

STORY WITHOUT WORDS

without wasting words. Here we see two fundamentally different psychological treatments of politics in conflict, the irreconcilability of which will only be seen at some future date when England is fully armed.

FRANCE HOLDS THE MEDITERRANEAN KEY

From "Les Documents Politiques," Paris

FRENCH diplomacy is "hypnotised" by the idea that the agreements of Locarno, denounced by Germany on March 7 last, can be re-established, *even without Germany and if need be against Germany.*

Nothing that has happened since then—not even the indifference with which the English questionnaire of May 6 was received in Berlin and left unanswered—has been able to convince the Quai d'Orsay that the Pact of Locarno has been completely and definitely annulled and that it will never be reborn in any form.

It cannot be denied that the way the Locarno Signatory Powers are grouped politically has been greatly altered.

On the one hand, Hitler's general policy has removed the sort of guardianship imposed on Germany by the inclusion in the Pact of Locarno of certain features of the Treaty of Versailles. On the other hand, the four-power bloc of France, England, Italy and Belgium which, independent of Locarno, stood four-square against Germany, has broken up and one of the Powers, Italy, has openly separated from her partners.

Perhaps not enough attention has been paid to the important changes in Belgium's foreign policy; Belgium seems to want to revert to a policy of quasi-neutrality and should negotiations for a new Locarno eventuate, will demand to be guaranteed by France and England without reciprocity, *i.e.*, if one or other of these two Powers were attacked by Germany and Belgium's material interests were not involved, she would have no obligations towards the two countries. In spite of these important changes the Quai d'Orsay does not yet realise that, at the present moment, it is in France's interest that Locarno should not be resuscitated.

The political future of Europe is dominated not by Franco-German relations, nor by Hitler's "crusade" against Soviet Russia,

but exclusively by Anglo-Italian rivalry in the Mediterranean and on the route to India.

The solution of this problem lies with France, who thus holds in her hands the elements of her personal security.

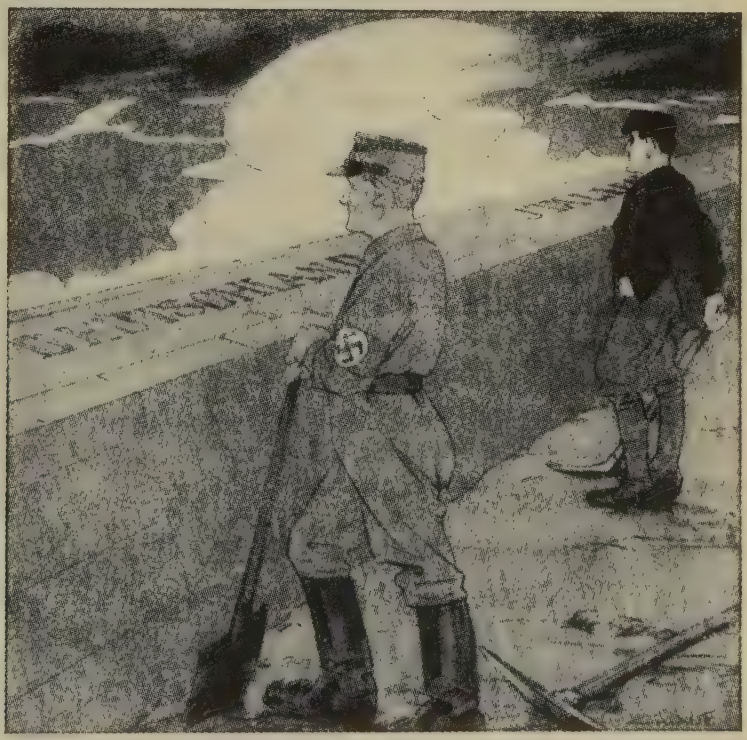
She does not need to beg for any guarantees of help from anybody. She can impose her own conditions in return for her help or even for her neutrality.

London realises this; on the one hand, the persistence with which England has tried to bring together a new Locarno Conference, and on the other hand, the activity of certain English politicians—such as Winston Churchill—with regard to Franco-British relations, reveal clearly enough the gravity with which this outlook is regarded.

England's present diplomatic activity, which at first sight might seem somewhat disjointed, is thus made intelligible. Its aim is to get her hands free for a possible Anglo-Italian conflict.

In a recent article Signor Gayda, editor of the *Giornale d'Italia* expressed the distrust felt in Italy over the eagerness of England to

THE DAM HOLDS THE RED WAVES BACK



"*Kladderadatsch,*" *Berlin*

revive Locarno; he claimed that the reason for this haste was that, after the repudiation of Locarno, the French Government had asked for a letter of guarantee from the Signatory Powers ensuring the functioning of the Treaty, but Italy, subject at the time to sanctions, had not answered the appeal. England had thus been led to confirm the guarantee alone, thereby creating a sort of Franco-British alliance, separated from the collective undertakings of the old Locarno. Now, Signor Gayda continues, England considers the time come to unburden herself of that load and to put half of it on to Italy.

London intends to retain in any new Pact, despite the reduction of her obligations, the reciprocal guarantee (of French help in the Mediterranean) included in the agreement of April 1 (made after the breaking of the old Locarno Pact by Germany).

Britain's Wiliness

Candidly, England is aiming at another objective: to bring Germany back to Geneva, at the same time leaving herself a free hand for subsequent negotiations with France. Freed from the German threat, she would show herself all the more exacting with regard to the French guarantee in the Mediterranean.

More realist than the Quai d'Orsay, English diplomacy knows that an Italo-German alliance can never be a reality (Austria alone would be a stumbling-block). There is thus no reason why an agreement of a more or less wide scope, aimed at Italy, should not be made between London and Berlin.

At all events, it is among the nations bordering on the Mediterranean that the British diplomatic battle against Italy will take place.

The cruise of King Edward in the Eastern Mediterranean, and the policy of non-intervention in Spain have been the first events in that conflict.

But it is France who has in her hands the control of the Eastern Mediterranean; on her alone hangs the future of the English maritime route from Gibraltar to Suez.

BRITAIN'S THE WORST METHOD

From the "New York Herald-Tribune"

IT is plain that a serious Anglo-Italian problem has arisen, and it is equally plain that it must be taken in hand in the interests of peace between the two countries and peace generally. That is exactly what

Mussolini proposed in his speech. Short of war, he said, "there is only one solution, an understanding quick, complete, clear and on a basis of recognition of reciprocal interests." That is the good method. The bad one is that of Viscount Halifax, Lord Privy Seal, who, speaking on behalf of the British government declared: "There have never been on our side any Anglo-Italian differences." But if there is no problem on the British side, why the feverish improvement and construction of naval and air bases at Malta, Cyprus and Haifa? Why the spectacular tour of inspection by the First Lord of the Admiralty and the King's visit to the countries of the eastern Mediterranean last summer?

Ignoring the problem will not solve it. Turning a deaf ear to Mussolini's request for a direct talk between the two governments will only make the problem worse. The worst method of all is to say that the problem does not interest Great Britain and Italy alone but is one of general security and must be referred to the League. We all know how that method has worked in the past, and who will say that it will work better now?

CITIZENS OF EMPIRE
Opinion in Italy Today

by CLEVES STEAD

From the "Egyptian Gazette," Cairo

Our readers will be interested to know that this description of the Italian citizen's outlook today was written and kindly sent to us by a granddaughter of W. T. Stead, famous founder of the "Review of Reviews."

NOW that the clouds of war and controversy have somewhat lifted, it is interesting to study the re-actions of certain types of Italian mind towards the new political situation.

Opinions and comments vary widely. They go from fanatical enthusiasm to disappointment, but none are indifferent.

The purely patriotic individual, whatever the colour of his shirt, is frankly delighted at what he considers the enhanced prestige of his country. Foreign hostility towards, or criticism of, the methods

adopted to accomplish this result, he attributes to jealousy, and ignorance of his country's real aims and needs. An Empire is something that can be shown off to foreigners, like smooth roads or new buildings, only much better.

The military element feels that at last the competence and reputation of the Italian Army have been firmly established in the Colonial field which up to the present had held little success. It is forced to admit the thoroughness of an organisation at which it had been inclined to scoff, but as far as actual active service is concerned, attaches very little importance to the role played by the militia. Most of the laurels go to the regular services.

Big Business, cramped and starved at home, alternately being saved by—and saving—the State, is now buoyed up by prospects of overseas developments, and some return on remaining capital. Just how founded such hopes are remains to be seen. Vested interests in general, although still protesting against crushing taxation, are led by clever propaganda to see in the present state of Europe in general, and of Spain in particular, a serious communist threat against all property, and a reason for closer loyalty to a government, however arbitrary and despotic, which offers a certain modicum of safety.

The Intelligent Man's Criticism

The intelligent citizen of pre-war education now admits to a greater admiration for the Dictator's person and achievements, while still insisting on the precariousness of any organisation built on the personality of a single individual. As far as internal administration is concerned they point out that in no case has the new organisation been capable of wholly replacing the existing one. They feel that, admirable as are some of the material achievements of the actual regime, they would have been better accomplished in a more constitutional manner. In regard to foreign politics, while admiring the technical organisation of the Abyssinian campaign, and rejoicing at a result far above their expectations, these citizens are fully alive to the fact that great expenditure of time and money is necessary before the new colony can be regarded as a profitable investment.

Led by skilful propaganda, the Average Citizen curses France today just as cheerfully as he cursed England yesterday. He is highly pleased with the trappings of glory and finds a pleasant thrill in the

word Empire, although it conveys little of deeper meaning to him. Delighted at the cessation of conditions which threatened his comfort, he is a firm believer in the sincerity of his country's desire for peace—if only because such a desire finds an ardent echo in his own heart.

On the other hand the Balilla of 1924, carefully trained, has become a youthful and fanatical enthusiast. To him Abyssinia is but the first step towards the resurrection of past glory; his own sacred mission that of fighting and possibly dying for the creation of a new empire and the spreading of Roman "culture" throughout the world. Disappointment and disillusion would have to be brutally complete to turn such a young warrior against his trainers.

It will be seen that skill or circumstance has given some sort of satisfaction to all those who might in some way influence public opinion. The agricultural classes, who have been often enough told that they are "the backbone" of the nation, like most backbones lack a voice to demand equitable treatment, and so are condemned to bear the brunt of both the past and the future. If, when they finally reach the Promised Land, they find that the milk and honey are largely myths, they will still remain inarticulate, and therefore are not considered dangerous.

Propaganda and carefully filtered news had convinced the public that the whole of Abyssinia was not only conquered and occupied, but completely pacified and panting for colonisation. The tardily divulged news of the assassination of Locatelli and his companions came as a first, great shock. Now the public mind is slowly beginning to realise the necessity of further time and effort to consolidate conquest before colonisation can be seriously attempted. There is such a vast gulf between the golden promises made in the beginning and the actual facts now slowly revealing themselves, that the pendulum of public opinion might easily swing towards the inertia of bitter disappointment. For the moment the popular atmosphere is one of relaxation after effort, of waiting upon events. Just what these events will be, how prepared, presented and accepted, only time can show.

ECONOMY IS LIKE THAT

An aged Missourian estimates he has saved $800 by not having had a shave in fifty-two years, but hasn't the $800. So much economy is like that.—*Richmond Times-Dispatch, U.S.A.*

APOLOGIA FOR ANARCHISM

Extracts from a Broadcast Talk

by FEDERICO URALES

The Church in Spain

. . . The doctrine attributed to Christ, a doctrine that was all spirituality and sweetness, had been replaced by a code that was entirely mercenary and embittered. The temples no longer sheltered saints; they were filled once again with money-changers. Such religious communities as were not commercial concerns were houses of ill-fame; sometimes they were both in one. Thanks to its immorality, its tyranny, and its greed, the Catholic Church had lost its moral strength, having exchanged its original precepts of self-denial and self-sacrifice for a love of power and of gold.

Labour Conditions

. . . There is still slavery in Spain. The workman is a serf. He is faced with death by hunger or with physical collapse as a result of long hours and short wages.

The Rights of Man

. . . But now the times of misery and ignorance are past; no longer shall work be lacking because it cannot be done, or because there is no wish to work. The period of excessive wealth and limitless poverty is past; superfluous riches shall no longer exist side by side with such penury that a man has only enough to wear in the street and eats only enough to stand upright. The time has come of every man's right to live a life as good and as sweet as the best that any man may live. If we are Christians, for the sake of Christ; if we are Mahomedans, for the sake of Mahomet; if we are Buddhists, for the sake of Buddha; if we are Confucians, for the sake of Confucius; if we are Zoroastrians, for the sake of Zoroaster; and if we are merely men, because we are men merely.

None of our redeemers, none of our prophets, none of our apostles ever failed to advocate and uphold man's right to an equal share in the world's riches, and not from cowardice must their disciples go back on them. Because we put our faith in them and in their followers,

we must bring about this equal distribution of wealth, no matter where we may happen to live, and whatever creed or politics we may profess.

That, then, is the desire of the majority of us Spaniards who are today engaged in the fight against Fascism, with either a pen or a rifle in our hands. We are tired of being the victims of a materialistic clericalism or of self-seeking militarists; we are tired of our subjection to classes that consider themselves superior to our own, yet produce nothing useful in life, and have lived always at the expense of others.

They are not to be trusted, therefore, who say that we are Anarchists, that we are Communists, or Socialists, or Republicans. Men who desire to live in decency and in freedom—that is what we are!

We demand that there should be no pressure on our conscience other than that conscience itself, and we shall not allow anyone to take advantage of the flames in which our political, social and economic future is at present being forged to impose on us any will or system which is not borne of the struggles of a people fighting to be master of its destinies. . . .

The Iberian Federation

We are a people composed of various peoples, and it must be these, the peoples of Spain, in autonomy and in federation, that shall point out the path of their destinies, whatsoever those destinies may prove to be.

To prefer Fascism to Marxism, did any man prefer it, were to betray the revolution; but he would also be a traitor to the revolution who feared Fascism less than he feared Anarchism . . . Such things would be due to our not having submitted, one and all, to the will of the Spanish peoples, whatever that might be, in autonomy and in federation.

Aims of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. (Anarcho-Syndicalists)

These are our aims, which we wish to tell the nations of Europe. You have been misled and misinformed of our intentions by newspapers of both sides that are determined to represent our work of reformation as activity of a distinct political character, as the action of incapable men and scoundrels.

We can lay claim to the most austere lives in this country. We can show the cleanest hands in Spain. We can muster the ablest brains among the Spanish people. We hope, therefore, to win, by our acts and our ideals, the respect and support of the civilised countries of the earth. Those who oppose the honourable, free and educated life after which we seek are those who persecute Masons and free-thinkers and all whose ideas are loftier than their own ; they are those who brought the Inquisition into Spanish prisons, who attacked modern secular education, who shot Francisco Ferrer and tortured men in Montjuich, who held the Spanish people in political, economic and religious subjection—whereas we, peoples of the world, are those who aim to establish peace on earth and liberty among men !

Appeal

We therefore deserve your support, civilised peoples. Come to our aid. Do not forget that we have to wage war against the whole of Spanish reaction, which is rich and cruel, and against three Fascist dictatorships that are trying to force on us a social and political system fit for the Middle Ages. . . .

And you, France, who are the nation most chary of helping us, for fear of a war which tomorrow you will have to accept under worse conditions than at present, remember that, if Fascism were victorious in Spain, you would find yourself hemmed in by three Fascist powers antagonistic to your wealth, your culture and your freedom.

England, we salute you ! We are of those men whom you greeted when they were turned out of Spain in 1897, with open arms and open heart, calling them " victims of Spanish repression " !

We salute you, friendly Russia, for, though we are not Marxists, we are grateful !

Health and valour to you, Spanish liberals !

Health and thanks to my listeners !

With health and fervent courage may the whole anti-Fascist world be filled !

THE LOVE-METER ARRIVES

PROFESSOR MARIXENA, of Bucarest, a specialist in nervous diseases, has invented an apparatus capable of indicating to what degree one person loves another. The apparatus, it is said, is never deceived.—*L'Ere Nouvelle, Paris.*

GERMANY TIGHTENS ITS BELT

GUNS AND BUTTER

by ROBERT D'HARCOURT

From "L'Echo de Paris"

With an immense armaments programme to carry through, an artificially highly valued currency, hardly any gold in the Reichsbank, no more loans forthcoming from abroad, tariff barriers in other countries blocking purchase of German goods, and as General Goering emphasised (the British thought unduly) no colonies from which to purchase raw materials in German currency—the Reich is determined to become self-sufficient. Scientists are being set to work to invent synthetic substitutes for those very raw materials which producers in the rest of the world lament they cannot sell; and the nation has been told to tighten its belt.

"WHAT matters to us is not the scarcity of butter or eggs, declared Adolph Hitler at Nuremberg, but the freedom of Germany." "Our slogan has not changed," declared Rudolf Hess, the Leader's deputy, a month later: "Guns instead of butter."

We are not going to find fault with National Socialism, either on account of the warlike ring of the slogan, "Guns instead of butter," or of the virile scale of values which sets the freedom of Germany above baskets of eggs. Irony here would be out of place. With undeniable energy, deliberately gritting her teeth, Germany has obtained a place for herself among those countries who have made a moral force out of their material poverty, a place among those "thin people" for whom Benito Mussolini, also head of an expansionist land, has predicted a final victory over the "fat people." There is in fatness a source of comfort and the beginning of decay. Hitler's Germany derives value from its forced asceticism; it is not a bourgeois nation; it leaves butter, and devaluation, to the western democracies; it has made up its mind never to develop a paunch.

What else has Herr Hess to say in his speech to his countrymen and particularly to the housewives of the Third Reich? "Don't complain too much because you haven't enough butter to put on your

bread; think yourselves lucky to have, at least, bread, which is more than your Russian sisters can say." The minister, according to the official version of the speech, went even further. "German housewives," he said, "ought to be *happy* to be without butter, and not bread, as in Russia."

A Task for Dr. Goebbels

Once more, quite seriously and without mental reservations, we bow before this stoical imperative, before the unanswerable frankness with which National Socialism places the nation before food. It remains to be seen whether the orators who thus frankly propose the black broth of Sparta will be followed. We wonder whether the preachers of the Teutonic larder-penance will be *morally* followed; we do not doubt that they will be, *practically*. The régime has at its disposal effective means of enforcing its decisions. The question arises (and it is of real interest for the internal psychology of the country) whether the hardships imposed by the German economic system will be accepted, or merely submitted to—courageously accepted or submitted to with ill grace.

Doesn't Herr Hess go a little too far in asking the housewives of his country to be "*happy* to do without butter"? The heroic tone has always been for the select few. There is no such thing as collective heroism, even in totalitarian States.

A people's consumption of butter, meat and eggs can be restricted; the real difficulty comes when at the same time you ask that people to be happy. A whimpering stomach is the best ally of a groaning spirit, and gastric discontent is the best purveyor of the army of "carpers" and "grumblers," so much hated by Dr. Goebbels. At the last Nuremberg Congress it was noticed that the spiritual did not come up to the level of the material atmosphere; artificial excitement visibly outran the genuine exaltation of the preceding years. This climatic change was noticed by the correspondent of the Polish *Kurjer Warszawski*, who wrote: "The atmosphere seemed to me to be less enthusiastic and more fanatical than last year."

It is not difficult to see the reason for this change of *Stimmung*. It must be sought in the grim perspective conjured up by the Four Year Plan, the aim of which is to make Germany independent of foreign countries for her raw materials.

To the listener who is old enough to remember the past, this brilliant perspective of autarchy offers no attraction. For the young man the past remains like a mere unreal theory found in a book. That is why Nazi propaganda concentrates on youth, which cannot oppose it with the dangerous weapon of memory. The lean people of the war-years rise in the memory of the older man. He bows down before the scientific knowledge of his country's chemists and knows by experience the credit he can give to the virtuosity of the technicians who make food substitutes; but invincible gastronomic preference drives him towards natural tea, butter, cocoa and coffee. The exalting sentiment of a sacrifice courageously made for the greatness of the nation leaves behind a taste of bitterness in the mouths of ordinary human beings. In spite of the fierce attack on the bourgeois mind and its baseness, there is still room in the Third Reich for secret and sensual reveries. The involuntary sigh of Gambrinus is still liable to break in on a dream of Nordic heroism.

And then certain words frighten us. The Führer proclaimed at Nuremberg the necessity for Germany's economic system to put on the "strait-jacket" of State-control. This strait-jacket, especially in economic matters, has a disagreeable ring about it. The word sends shivers down the spine of tender souls; it smells of Russia, of Komsomol.

To this ignoble anxiety the official spokesmen and torch-bearers of the régime reply with one word: the nation. They offer machine-guns and tanks to the man who dreams of buttered bread, and frankly tell him that if he hesitates between the two kinds of happiness, he is unworthy of being a German.

Life worth more than Lard

The decisive argument brought out to face the criticism of unsatisfied stomachs scarcely ever changes: You would be a fool to complain; your life is safe, and life is worth more than lard; you owe it to National Socialism, which saves you and your children from Bolshevik horrors. "Every tank, every extra 'plane," cries Rudolf Hess, "is an additional assurance to the German mother that her children will not be tortured by Bolshevik hordes." "When Europe is submerged by communism," declared the Führer at the Harvest Festival "Germany will emerge from the red ocean like a block of granite."

The carpers cannot look for shelter in the old half-way positions, in a universe condemned to the law of extremes. Liberalism is cracking everywhere. The world is caught in the dilemma Berlin-Moscow. Contemporary history is a living proof of the inability of democracies to survive; they are condemned by their very nature always to slip down into the abyss.

We did not believe Moscow to be so formidable for the Third Reich. Naively, we thought General Göring had crushed it. But, though dead as a reality, as a screen it is enjoying a long life. It is this which allows National Socialism to complete without undue haste the immense war-machine which the Reich has become; through it peaceful Germany is prevented from hearing the dangerous melody of its own country: the heavy, unbroken song of the arms factory, the clanging of Krupp's pile-drivers, of which the Führer spoke with pride.

ENGLAND AND OURSELVES

From the "Hamburger Fremdenblatt"

When Mr. Eden made his survey of foreign relations at the opening of the new session, it was noticeable—so Germans remark with regret—that he expressed himself with greater cordiality towards France than towards the Third Reich. The German answer to his points is given here.

THERE was very hearty applause in the House of Commons when the Foreign Minister, Eden, reciprocated Germany's wish for closer friendship with England. So it is correct that there is in both countries a widespread feeling in favour of extending mutual relations. Indeed, the Reich Government has—from the conclusion of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement, *via* repeated offers, up to the appointment of Ambassador von Ribbentrop to London—done a great deal to give expression to its goodwill towards the racially related island people.

Some of Eden's remarks, it is true, prove that we have not so far been able to remove the roots of mistrust reaching right back to pre-war times. His emphasis on the close and hearty relations with France, the "second great west European democracy," is plain enough, if one

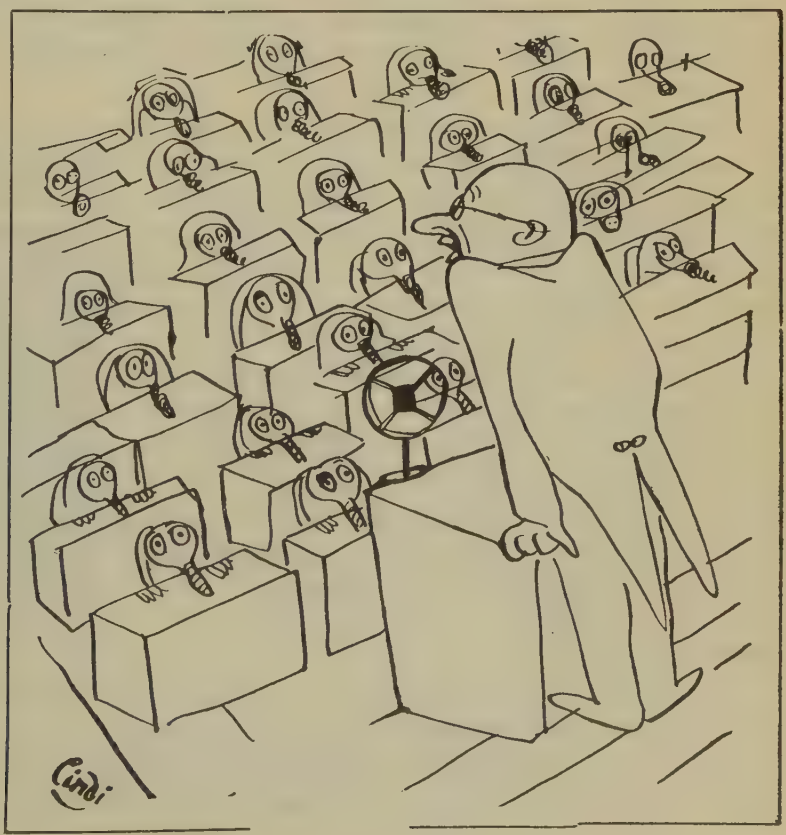
compares it with his reserved and qualified treatment of Anglo-German relations.

What Germany Lost

The British Foreign Minister thought it necessary to refer to the remarks of leading Germans, who recently expressed themselves with pleasing frankness on the subject of the colonial and economic causes of the Reich's state of need. At the moment, when the German people are having to make considerable sacrifices under the Four Year Plan, it is understandable if the arbitrary nature of Germany's development under the chains of the dictated peace is depicted as the source of all the evils which oppress us today. But it occurred to no one to put the sole blame for Germany's lack of raw materials on England, as Eden maintained.

SCHOOL OF THE FUTURE

"Smith minor, I have reason to suspect you're making faces."



"Nebelspalter," Switzerland

His arguments therefore took the wrong line. The reparations which were squeezed out of Germany by the Allies amount to infinitely more than the loans which America in particular, as well as England and other countries, made to Germany. We cannot help suspecting that the balance-sheets presented to us today have been drawn up for home consumption. They forget the immense economic loss that we suffered through being forced to give up most important raw material territories. They do not even mention the confiscation of property of German nationals abroad, and the theft of German factories and ships the world over, although it is a sufficiently well-known fact that German citizens in 1914 were drawing 2,000,000,000 reichsmarks annually as interest on their property abroad.

The loans, however, which flowed in after 1924, have remained the private debt of German industry. The international private indebtedness of various branches of industry—which in the last analysis was brought about by reparations—is in the judgment of the best-known experts one of the chief obstacles in the path of a return to ordered conditions in world trade.

So it is that the advice which Eden gives us smacks of theory. We are to join the currency agreement made by England, France and America. The currency and market obstacles which stand in the way of Germany's joining this agreement have been clearly explained by Dr. Schacht. For the rest, it is not particularly friendly only to extend the invitation to Germany after the partners to the convention have already united among themselves. Also, we have not forgotten the comments on the event made by the American Secretary of State Morgenthau and the French press. In the first case the talk was of an act of currency policy on the part of "the three great democracies," with clearly implied political emphasis. The French on their part gave full play to lively phantasies about the politico-trade isolation of Germany. Such friendly remarks are not calculated to strengthen confidence in international cooperation.

Foundations First!

The friendship between England and Germany advocated by Eden should not bear the character of exclusiveness and be directed against anyone else. With the first condition we can declare ourselves wholly in agreement. The principle of bi-lateral treaties which German foreign

policy has been following since the National Socialists took power has never implied that friendly understandings are not possible between Germany and all her neighbours. Those in responsible positions have only taken the view that it is better to begin a building at the foundations, than to build a collective roof in the air, with no supporting columns on the ground. There is nothing whatever in the way of peaceful agreements with England and other States joining the German-Polish and German-Austrian understandings, and the *rapprochement* between Germany and Italy.

The difficulties lie elsewhere. It has been universally noticed that the English Foreign Minister carefully avoided mentioning Soviet Russia. Not without regret, the German public have observed during recent years how English policy gave the word for Litvinoff's entry into Geneva, how it blessed Moscow's military pacts with France and Czechoslovakia, and how finally it even negotiated with Soviet Russia over the enlargement of the Red Navy. In Downing Street there is evidently still a body of opinion represented which does not coincide

"*Le Rire*," Paris

ERSATZ

"Come and dine with us tonight, Herr Doctor; we've got a small 'plane-wing with gelignite sauce."

"*Le Populaire*," Paris

THE FOUR-YEAR-PLAN DICTATOR

Goering: "The hardest job of all will be to find a new uniform."

in the least with German repudiation of the Bolshevik world enemy. It is far from the intention of leading men in Germany to force on others their own ideas regarding the chaotic state of Europe and its real causes. They have not the power to do so in any case. On the other hand, the world will not be able to avoid recognising the fact that Germany today is imbued with the firmest conviction that European civilisation is going to be threatened in its most vital nerve centres by the Bolshevik spirit of disintegration. Believing this, the Reich Government would be lacking in a sense of responsibility were it to become a party to treaties which aid the danger to spread.

SYNTHETIC RUBBER—BETTER BUT DEARER

SEVERAL new factories are to be built for the manufacture of the synthetic rubber invented by the Dye Trust, and already sold under the title of " buna."

Extensive tests have been carried out during the past year which have proved synthetic rubber to be even more durable than natural rubber. The disadvantage at present is that the substitute costs three times as much as the original, but it is confidently expected that a solution to this difficulty will be found.

Even before the war Germany had succeeded in producing a high grade vulcanite from synthetic rubber. In 1926, having discovered a chemical known as " butadien " which was to become the keystone of synthetic rubber, the I.G. Farben-Industrie (German Dye Trust) recommenced their experiments on a much larger scale.

Soft rubber made from " buna " stands wear and tear better than natural rubber, is less sensitive to temperature and shows a greater resistance to friction. Soft rubber made from " Buna N " moreover possesses great qualities of resistance to such chemical solvents as benzine and oil. " Buna " can also be vulcanised, and a hard rubber produced which is superior to vulcanite made of natural rubber in its resistance to temperatures and to the effects of chemical corrosion.

It was only after long and tedious experiments that the Dye Trust was finally successful in developing the best method of handling this synthetic material. This partly explains the comparatively high cost of manufacturing " buna " products up to the present time.

In the manufacture of motor cars soft rubber is being used more and more. As nearly all the rubber so used is bound to come in contact with oils and hydro-carbon fuels, the endurance properties of synthetic rubber present such advantages as almost to counterbalance the difference in price.

The special properties of the synthetic material have led to its being extensively used in motor tyres. Unusually stiff tests were applied, and it was found that compared with tyres made of natural rubber those of the synthetic product showed 30 per cent. less wear and tear.

It must be emphasised, too, that the development stage in the production of synthetic rubber is not yet over and still further improvements in the process are confidently expected.

SEEING IN THE DARK

From the "B.Z. am Mittag," Berlin

THE problem of seeing in the dark has been solved by German research. It was solved with the help of infra-red rays, which are not in themselves visible to the human eye.

The transformation of these invisible rays into visible ones is accomplished by activating electrons with the help of a specially designed electric lens.

Research in this direction, begun in Germany, is now proceeding actively in other countries too, specially in America. The German experiments have led to the perfecting of an apparatus, known as a "Picture-transformer"; virtually a mechanical eye, which enables one to see by means of hitherto invisible rays. It is possible, for instance, by means of it, to observe people in a dark room without them being aware of it.

An ordinary light is used, but it is marked with black glass which allows only invisible infra-red rays to pass. The mechanical eye throws the picture disclosed by these rays on to a screen, where it becomes visible to the human eye. It is possible to see at a distance through mist, but not through clouds. Animals can be observed by night. The discovery promises to be of great value in medical and microscopic work.

LAND FOR THE LANDLESS

From the "Frankfurter Zeitung"

Much is heard of the need of Germany to expand eastward, driven by land hunger, and the search for raw materials. But in Poland, to her east, loss of markets for their products is driving the almost starving peasants to revolt and the Government is talking of "surplus population" and the need for colonies. Land is being divided up, but it is largely land which the Ukrainians claim as theirs

YEAR by year the Polish Government has taken a portion of their land away from the big estate owners, in order to increase the number of small holdings for the settlement of landless peasants. In recent years, however, this practice has been a little more cautiously followed, and the whole annual quota of 200,000 hectares provided for in the Agricultural Reform Plan of 1925 has not been divided up. This mildness towards the big landowners, which can be explained on political grounds, was strongly criticised by the peasants, who form the majority of the population. It was pointed out that, instead of the promised 2,000,000 hectares only 1.4 million had been touched during the last decade.

Obviously with the intention of removing the foundation from such reproaches, the Government decided to take an unexpected step, and announced a special forced division of a further 40,000 hectares, in order, so to speak, to make up the deficit. This announcement called forth a storm of protest from the Conservative Press.

The Minister for Agriculture, Poniatowski, evidently thinks that Polish agriculture can only be helped by means of increasing the number of smallholders, whose property has already been practically atomised by the local custom of dividing among heirs. The distress which comes from cutting up land into splinters has led to the formation of an immense village proletariat, who are far worse off than the city workers—who are, indeed, down to starvation level.

An important influence on the Government's land policy is probably the fact that the poverty-stricken peasant masses are moving

further and further to the Left. There is nothing much that they can do in Warsaw against this trend. The measures taken to relieve distress do not amount to much, when it is a question of taking the wind out of the sails of a determined Opposition.

Poland's peasants—schooled in the teaching of Witos (the exiled peasant leader)—obviously regard the expropriation of the big landowners as the most important pre-requisite for prosperity. The additional measure of land division—which has been cut down to 27,000 hectares instead of 40,000—does not rouse much response from them. They are not satisfied if the Government nips a bit here and there off the politically undesirable nobility, the Jews, backward tax-payers, or members of the minority populations. They no longer aim at economic relief, but place their political demands more and more in the foreground. This is the secret of the dilemma of a Government which would gladly appease the peasant majority, without bowing to its radicalism.

* * *

One hundred and nine big estates are to be compulsorily divided by the new measure. Almost all the leading Polish magnates—the Radziwills, Potockis, and others—are being forced to give up a portion of their land for settlement purposes.

The choice of estates has been made in accordance with the arrears of taxes due from the owners. A whole third of the total area of 27,000 hectares confiscated is in Eastern Galicia, while only 550 hectares—mostly in the hands of Jews—are being taken in Central Poland. The Press of the Right emphasises the fact that the German districts are not touched by this new forced division. It should, however, be remembered that the division of land last spring, when 16,200 hectares were taken, hit German landowners particularly hardly.

In Galicia there is great unrest over the large proportion of land in provinces settled by Ukrainians that is to be divided. The official representatives of the Ukrainian minority has emphasised the importance of division of the land for destitute Ukrainian peasants, and has stated that they will on no account tolerate the handing over of divided land to colonists from other provinces.

The Polish Government organ, *Kurjer Poranny*, states that this demand of the Ukrainians is contrary to the meaning of the agrarian reform. "The Polish State," it says, "is absolute master on its own

territory, and no demand of this sort will be accepted. The allocation of land will be carried out in accordance with economic and social conditions, as well as with the demands of national defence."

COLONIES FOR POLAND

From the "Schlesische Zeitung," Breslau

EUROPE may possibly have been surprised at Poland's raising the colonial question at Geneva. The desire expressed by Colonel Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, for an extension of the Mandates Commission, was explained in official circles to mean that it was Poland's aim to draw attention to her over-population by instituting action which must lead to the consideration of her wishes. The step thus taken by the Foreign Minister, has proved very popular in Poland; for public opinion there has for a long time considered that colonies afford the only possible solution to her population problem.

How then does Poland propose to solve the colonial question? She is interested in the Palestinian question, but from a purely negative standpoint—as a means of getting rid of as many as possible of her Jewish population. For this reason Poland expressed the wish in London that Jewish emigration to Palestine should not be limited. The aim of the Zionist, Zabotynski, who stands well with Polish official circles, is to emigrate 600,000 or 700,000 Jews in the next ten years. This would not be a very large diminution of the Jewish population, which at present numbers three millions, but would mean a considerable reduction in the percentage of Jews to the rest of the population. The idea of solving the Jewish question by assimilation, which up till now has been widespread in Poland, is rapidly losing ground.

As regards the positive side of the colonial question, the prevailing opinion up till now has been that Poland should be given a mandate. The Naval and Colonial League went to the trouble of working out how many square miles of Germany's former colonies Poland has the right to, basing its calculations on the percentage proportion of German Poland to the whole pre-war Reich. Although the Naval and Colonial League has official approval, this propaganda was not taken very seriously in responsible quarters. It was recognized that in reality Poland has no hope of obtaining a mandate.

Other solutions were envisaged on lines indicated by the Cracow paper *Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny*. According to this paper the concentration and organization of Polish emigration was to take a quite definite direction, the end in view being the granting to Poland of territory either in colonies or mandated territories or in oversea States. Certain autonomous rights, both national and economic, should be guaranteed to the Polish settlers, the journal said, without infringing the political constitution of the territory.

The solution indicated here seems to us to be very much wiser than the demand (with scant hope of success) for a mandate. It would free Poland from the burden of political responsibility in the colonial sphere, and yet give her a certain influence and material advantage. It is conceivable that a whole number of States might be prepared to negotiate about it, for Poland has large numbers of potential settlers.

In this way a new type of colonization would be created. It is clear that, if the Polish State were to organize a closely-knit unit of colonization in foreign territory and the State owning this territory were to guarantee certain liberties to the settlers, the ties between the home country and the colonists, whether intellectual or economic, could remain close. At present it is only a suggestion contributed to the colonial debate from the Polish side. But it is a suggestion of some value, since it treats the problem much more elastically than has hitherto been the case. Population pressure gives one a moral right to intervene in the colonial debate. Europe's future will be decided by the question whether the under-populated States give the over-populated room.

BOLSHEVISATION OF THE UKRAINE

From "Dilo," Lwow, Poland

Conquered by the Red Armies in 1919/20, the greater part of the Ukraine became, despite its nationalist resistance, a vitally important member of the Russian Soviet Union. A smaller part fell under Polish rule

THE Central Committee of the Ukrainian National Democratic Organisation has passed a resolution concerning the situation in Ukraine under the Soviet and the destructive work of the Comintern outside the boundaries of the Soviet Union. The resolution stated that :

From the beginning of the military occupation up to the present day the policy of Red Moscow aims directly and systematically at the complete political, economical and cultural subjugation and de-nationalisation of the Ukrainian Nation.

World Review

THE UKRAINE, CONTAINING EUROPE'S RICHEST GRANARY, AND THE FAMOUS DONETZ COALFIELD

The Bolsheviks have caused, by their economic policy and especially by the enforcement of rural collectivisation, an acute state of famine in Ukraine. As a result of this policy millions of peasants have perished, and hundreds of thousands have been deported to the

Arctic regions, to Turkistan or to Siberia, under the pretext of their opposition to collectivisation. According to recent information, mass reprisals against the peasants in Ukraine under the Soviet are being conducted, and the danger of a new famine is again probable.

By the mass deportation of Ukrainian peasants, the Soviet Government is conducting a policy of denationalisation of the Ukranian territory, because it is being colonised by foreign elements introduced by the Government. Such a policy of diluting the population aims at the unification of the Red Empire by Russification. The Soviet authorities are still conducting a systematic extermination of the nationally conscious elements ; but the Ukrainian national spirit is not lessened in this way ; rather its resistance is hardened.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern, in 1935, put forward new tactics for Communists working outside the U.S.S.R. The chief result is the formation of the so-called " Popular Front," in which the Communists take leading key positions for starting mass actions, etc., as is shown in Spain and France. Their aim is the development and speeding up of revolutionary outbreaks in different States, and the introduction of the rule of the proletariat. Immediately after the Seventh Congress of the Comintern a new wave of Soviet agitation appeared in Ukraine under Poland. Its purpose is to disintegrate the Ukrainian national organism and make it less resistant to Bolshevik ideas. The Bolsheviks push their men into the Ukrainian political, economical, cultural and sporting institutions, and even into their religious bodies, where their agents conduct disintegrating work.

UNDER THE POLISH HEEL

From " Pravda," Moscow

THE party of the Ukrainian Fascists, whose only function is the service of Polish Imperialism, has been compelled openly to admit the bankruptcy of its policy. It is forced to make this admission at a time when extraordinarily difficult economic conditions prevail in Western Ukraine, and when increasing oppression is being accompanied by growing revolutionary activity among the Ukrainian masses.

The colonial situation of Western Ukraine has reduced the country to such terrible impoverishment that even Polish bourgeois circles describe it as a state of " super-poverty in poverty."

Recently the Polish government inflicted a new serious blow on the peasants of Western Ukraine. If has renewed the mass colonisation of Ukrainian land by Polish settlers, preponderantly former soldiers. This alien colonisation is greatly intensifying the land famine. At the same time it forms a harsh weapon for oppressing the Ukrainian people. These colonists, armed to the teeth, fulfil the role of watch-dogs for Polish Imperialism, of gendarmes and executioners of the Ukrainian people. Even the isolated cases of sales of land to Ukrainian peasants are transformed into instruments of enforced colonisation, for they are only effected on the condition that the Ukrainian peasant becomes a Catholic.

The Ukrainian language is persecuted at every turn. In Western Ukraine circulars have been issued by the local authorities prohibiting the use of Ukrainian even in the local village administrations. Any peasant who addresses the authorities in his native language is simply turned out of the office. Recently the Ukrainian press reported a case in which the Polish military authorities punished an Ukrainian soldier with three days' arrest because he demanded that a military document should enter him as an Ukrainian.

All this system of illegality and oppression is based on a savage Fascist terror. In addition to sanguinary punitive expeditions (so-called "pacifications") the method of murdering active members of the revolutionary and national-liberation movement has now been extensively resorted to.

The colonial oppression in the Eastern area of Poland is an inseparable part of the national policy of Polish Imperialism. The Minister for War has expounded his programme in the following words :

"We must move to the East *en masse* in the same way as we struggled for the East with armed force, in order to consolidate that which we have won with the sword. The young generation must carry on a resolute advance, for there will not be a strong Poland without a strong Polish East."

The true feelings of the great mass of the Ukrainian people have found expression in the failure of the two anti-Soviet campaigns undertaken by the counter-revolutionary parties of the Ukraine.

Despite all the obstacles and difficulties an anti-Fascist and anti-occupation Popular Front is being formed and consolidated in Western Ukraine.

CHINA SPEAKS—WITH A SMILE
Wisdom and Humour about the English

by LIN YU-TANG, PH.D.

A Chinaman feels affinity with the English and believes they hold the secret of living. It is seldom that a more delightful study has been given the West than this, which clothes its wisdom in humour. It is part of an address given by Dr. Lin Yu-Tang before the Mid-Pacific Association in Shanghai.

TEN or fifteen years ago there was a Shanghai editor of a great Chinese daily paper who consistently avoided comments on the most important questions of the day. In time he developed the reputation for editorially handling " distant and not immediate topics, foreign and not domestic problems, and general and not specific subjects," such as The True Duties of Citizenship, The Importance of Obedience in Children, etc. I am going to follow that worthy gentleman's example by not talking about the problems of the Pacific.

I am going to speak of my impressions of the white man. I am not going to tell the truth, at least not the whole truth, so you need not be scared.

All nations today seem to be in a frightful fit of bad temper. We cannot help asking why it is so, because where human events are in a mess, the human beings must be at fault. We are forced to ask ourselves, what are the psychological limitations of the European which make peace so difficult in Europe ? I would never for a moment question the intelligence of the European race. But the sad part of it is, after all, intelligence has very little to do with the course of human events, which are more dictated by our animal passions.

Progress in Europe is not the result of the white man's thinking, but of his lack of thinking. If there were a single supreme Human Intelligence today put at the head of Europe and guiding its entire destiny, Europe would not be what it is today. Modern Europe is not ruled by a single supreme Human Intelligence but is ruled by three men with big and powerful jaws—Signor Mussolini, Adolf Hitler and Josef Stalin. You know what I mean : some faces are like triangles,

with the broad base situated below (the dictators and men of action), and some faces are like inverted triangles (the men of ideas and thinkers : Bertrand Russell, for example). The man of intelligence and the man of action belong to two entirely different types. The German nation could swear allegiance to " God and Hitler," but if an English Nazi party were to swear allegiance to God and Bertrand Russell, Bertrand Russell would die of shame. So long as Europe is ruled by these men with big and powerful jaws, and so long as you are willing to be ruled by men with big and powerful jaws, Europe must continue along its present lines of development and head for the abyss it is heading for today.

Both Love a Good Liar

But I am going to speak about England in particular, for several reasons. First, because as a Chinese, I feel all foreigners in China are Englishmen. The International Settlement in Shanghai is known among the Chinese as the " British Settlement," and we are probably right. Secondly, because the English show more sense and less sensibility. I would at any time twist the British lion's tail rather than pinch the whiskers of a Japanese marine. The British lion has a better sense of humour. And thirdly, because I feel I understand England better, I feel the spirit of the English people is more akin to the spirit of the Chinese people, for both nations are worshippers of realism and common sense. There are many points of similarity between the English and the Chinese in their modes of thinking, and even in their modes of speech. Both peoples have a profound distrust of logic and are extremely suspicious of arguments that are too perfect. We believe that when an argument is too logical it cannot be true. And both countries are gifted more at doing the right thing than at giving happy reasons for doing them. All Englishmen love a good liar, and so do the Chinese. We love to call a thing by anything except its right name. Of course, there are many points of dissimilarity (the Chinese are more emotional, for instance), and the Chinese and English sometimes exasperate each other, but I am digging at the roots of our racial make-up.

Now it is very difficult to appreciate this quality of English greatness, and I propose to initiate you into the beauties of it. The English nation has been misunderstood, and it takes a Chinese to understand

the English racial character properly. The English people have been accused of hypocrisy, inconsistency, a genius for muddling through, and a notorious lack of logic. I am making a defence of English inconsistency and English common sense.

In order to appreciate England, one has to have a certain contempt for logic. All this misunderstanding of the English people arises from a perverted idea of the true function of thinking. There is always a danger that we regard abstract thinking as the highest function of the human mind, to be valued over and above simple common sense. Now the first function of nations, as of animals, is to know how to live, and unless you learn how to live and adjust yourself to changing circumstances, all your thinking is futile and a perversion of the normal function of the human brain. We all have the perverted idea that the human brain is an organ for thinking. Nothing is further from the truth. That view, I submit, is biologically incorrect and unsound. Lord Balfour has wisely said that "The human brain is as much an organ for seeking food as the pig's snout." After all, the human brain is only an enlarged piece of the spinal column, whose first function is to sense danger and preserve life. We were animals before we became thinkers.

Logic Not Overdone

The so-called logical reasoning is only a very much belated development in the animal world and even now it is still highly imperfect. Mankind are only half-thinking and half-feeling animals. The type of thinking which helps one to get food and get along in life is a higher, not a lower, type of thinking, because this kind of thinking is always sounder. This type of thinking is usually called common sense. Now action without thinking may be foolish, but action without common sense is always disastrous. A nation with a robust common sense is not a nation that does no thinking, but rather has subjugated its thinking to its instinct for life and made it harmonious with it. Thinking of this type profits from the instinct for life, but is never against it. Too much thinking will bring about mankind's destruction. The English people think, too, but never allow themselves to be lost in their own thoughts and logical abstractions. That is the greatness of the English mind, and the reason for England's ability always to do the right thing at the right moment. It is also the

reason for the English ability to fight the right war on the right side from the Spanish Armada to the Napoleonic wars, down to the Crimean War, the Great World War, and the Italo-Abyssinian War. She always fought the right war and always called it by the wrong name by giving wrong reasons for it. That is the reason for England's amazing power and vitality. You may call it "muddling through" and inconsistency and hypocrisy. At the bottom of it all is the English robust common sense and a level-headed instinct for life.

In other words, the first law of nations as of individuals is the law of self-preservation, and the more a nation is able to adjust itself to changing circumstances, the sounder is its instinct for life, logic or no logic. "Consistency," Cicero says, "is the virtue of small minds." The English capacity for inconsistency is merely a sign of England's greatness.

Lack of Cerebration Made the Empire

Take the amazing British Empire, for example, still the greatest empire of the world. How did the English people do it? By the entire absence of logical reasoning. The greatness of the British Empire is based, you may say, on English sportsmanship, English endurance, English guts and the incorruptibility of English judges. All that is true, but there is a greater reason: the greatness of the British Empire is based on the English lack of cerebration; the lack of cerebration, or insufficient cerebration, produces moral conviction, and moral conviction produces moral strength. The British Empire is based on the Englishman being so cocksure of himself and his own superiority. No nation can go about conquering the world, unless it is quite sure of its "civilising" mission. The moment, however, you begin to think and see something in the other nation or the other fellow and his ways, your moral conviction leaves you and your empire collapses. The British Empire still stands today because the Englishman still believes that his ways are the only correct ways, and he cannot tolerate anybody that does not conform to his standards.

Thus the British Empire itself is based on an entirely illogical proposition. Its foundation actually dated back to the pirate days of its supreme struggle with the Spanish Empire in the times of Queen Elizabeth. But when pirates were necessary for the expansion of the British Empire, England was able to produce enough pirates to meet

the situation, and glorified them. And later, when the industrial revolution called for colonial markets, she developed an instinct for founding colonies and made another astounding discovery of her "civilising" influence, and an English poet, Rudyard Kipling, soon discovered the "white man's burden," and the consciousness of the white man's burden and England's civilising influence helped the Englishmen through as nothing else would. Of course, nothing could be more ridiculous, but nothing showed a sounder instinct for life.

League of Nations that Really Works

Yet if you think that this is mere thickheadedness and there is nothing more to it than a merely negative virtue, consider the other side of the picture. Certainly the development of the British Empire was unprecedented in mankind's history, and certainly such an Empire could not be held together merely by an absence of logic. In the hands of any other nation, the British Empire would have fallen by its own weight, for the problem of holding an Empire from Australia to Canada together would have taxed the most statesmanlike minds. Only the English mind could have solved it and it did so by inventing the British Commonwealth. The British Commonwealth is actually a League of Nations, with the difference that it is a League of Nations that really works. The English people are probably unaware that it is a League of Nations for they have the knack of doing a thing without knowing what it is. I don't know how the English people discovered the formula, but somehow or other they have discovered it or stumbled into it by their sheer commonsense and capacity for adjustment to realities.

Or take the case of the English language. The English language is today the nearest equivalent to an international language. How did the English people do it? By an equally absurd absence of logic, by the sheer stubbornness of the Englishman in refusing to speak anybody else's language.

The English maxim is: When you are travelling in Rome, do exactly as you do at home. This is the only poem I ever composed in English. It is the most illogical thing, but again it has turned out to be the right thing, and English today has established itself as incontrovertibly the international language of the world. And so on in all the different aspects of her national life. Her Anglican Church

is a theological anomaly. Theologically, it is a hodge-podge of Roman mutton with English sauce, a popish theology without a pope, merely the expression of the political sense of Henry VIII. It is absurd, it is ridiculously illogical and today it is hopelessly antiquated, but some eight years ago the English Parliament still refused to revise its prayer book. It is a supreme example of the English spirit of compromise. But it is a Church that works and survives to this day.

The English constitution is another masterpiece of English patchwork, and yet in spite of its being patchwork it offers the English people a real guarantee of their civil rights.

The English form of government is in itself a contradiction, a monarchy in name and a democracy in reality, and somehow the English people do not feel any conflict in it. The English profess the greatest love for and loyalty to their king, and then proceed to limit the expenditures of the royal household through their Parliament. Some day England will yet become a bolshevik state with the English king still on his throne, and under the leadership of a most die-hard conservative cabinet. England is already a socialist state today, taxing her aristocracy out of their landed estates and castles—without their calling it by that name—and England may in a short time turn labourite ; but one feels the process will take place so smoothly that there will be no violent shake-up. I feel confident that the basis of English democracy will stand the strain of any crisis it may have to pass through, just by its sheer dogged sense of reality, and a kind of robust animal instinct for life.

Plum Pudding in the Desert

And so there goes the Englishman, with his umbrella and unashamed of his umbrella, refusing to talk any language but his own, demanding marmalade in an African jungle and unable to forgive his boy for not producing holly and a plum pudding in an African desert on Christmas Eve, so sure of himself, so terribly cocksure of himself, and so terribly decent. There is an inevitability about his words and actions and gestures when he is not looking like a dumb persecuted animal. You could predict exactly what an Englishman would do even when he sneezes. He would take out his handkerchief—for he always has an handkerchief—and mutter something about the " beastly cold." And you could tell what is going on in his mind about Bovril

and going home to have a hot bath, all as inevitable as that the sun is going to rise in the east next morning. But you could not upset him. That cheekiness is not very lovely, but is very imposing. In fact, he has gone round conquering the world with that bluff and that cheekiness, and his success in doing so is his best justification.

For myself, I am rather intrigued by that cheekiness, the cheekiness of a man who thinks that any country is dog-gone and God-forsaken whose people do not take Bovril and do not produce an inevitable white handkerchief when the correct moment comes. One is lured to look behind that extremely brazen front and take a peep at his inner soul.

Of course, there is something in it. His soul is not such bad stuff and his cheekiness is not just side and airs. I sometimes feel that the Bank of England can never fall just because the English people believe so, that it can not be closed simply because " it isn't done." The Bank of England is decent. So is the English Post Office. So is their Manufacturers' Life Assurance. So is the whole British Empire, all so decent, so inevitably decent. I am sure Confucius himself would have found England the ideal country to live in.

The Test of Civilisation

The true test of a civilisation is not how you are able to conquer and to kill, but how you can get the greatest kick out of life, and for these humble arts of peace, like feeding birds and raising orchids and cooking mushrooms and being happy in simple surroundings, the West has still a lot to learn from China. Someone has said that the ideal life is to live in an English country house, engage a Chinese cook, marry a Japanese wife and take a French mistress. If we could all do that, we would have moved on in the arts of peace and could then afford to forget the arts of war. We would then know how to live and forget how to kill. You Christians may object to this scheme, but I believe such cooperation in the art of living will mark a new era of international understanding and goodwill and make the modern world safer to live in. It is a better programme than that which Mussolini is preparing for us. It is more convincing.

FERMENT IN SOUTH AMERICA —

REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES AND DICTATORSHIPS

From our Buenos Aires Correspondent

This month Buenos Aires is to house a Pan-American Conference of such importance that President Roosevelt himself is expected to attend it, despite the unfortunate consequences of the precedent set by President Wilson at Versailles. Our special correspondent here shows how the principal Latin-American countries are reacting to European events and experiments.

STATES and peoples only sympathise with the lives of others insofar as they themselves have passed through similar experiences or feel they may do so. Hence, the interest shown by South America in the problems of war and peace at Geneva is negligible, whereas they are vitally concerned as to the outcome of the struggle in Europe between the Authoritative State and Democracy; especially since it has culminated in the fight now raging in Spain.

Dictatorship as it is understood in Europe is not the same in South America, for two reasons. Firstly, the objective of every European dictatorship always in the interest of the State. Whatever one may think of the aims of the new rulers, the fact remains that they do pursue general, and not personal, ends—at least, they regard their personal aims as being in the interest of the public. But this attitude would only be possible in South America in exceptional cases. The ultimate objective of the revolutionaries in Paraguay is in the interest of the State; there are signs of a similar development in the Bolivian Revolution as far as it lies in the hands of the younger generation—but they have yet to prove themselves—and the Apristi in Peru might also be capable of public-spirited statesmanship. On the whole, however, the South American States have not yet attained a degree of consolidation which enables them to differentiate between political and personal ends, and it is worth while considering whether such a consolidation would be suitable for them.

What is styled "Fascism" in South America is nothing but a new name and to some extent a new method for an old institution—

the struggle for the privilege of being the next dog in the State manger. The new methods entail an endeavour to arm the members of the party as in Chile, and in the Argentine ; similar organisations were recently dissolved in Brazil. Actually they are not at all needed, as there is no Civil Service, the machinery of State being invariably directed by members of the party in power. It is merely necessary to deprive the opposition of its chances of election in order to remain in power.

Secondly, the question of organisation involved in a dictatorship as Europeans understand it, is beyond solution in South America. Moreover, a South American's whole life is based on the principle that the individual concerns himself as little as possible with matters of State, and vice versa, as long as the Government fulfils its most primary duties. Thus, the very first requirements of a totalitarian State are lacking. Some attempts in this direction may be perceptible, particularly in the revision of the school system in favour of a more pronounced Catholicism, and in the advancement of the Church as a whole. Further, governments have adopted the method of classifying everything as communism which is not in agreement with the present system, and thereby feel justified in declaring every opponent " hors la loi." The fight against the " international " elements has produced an extremely nationalistic phraseology ; and their capacity for proving that dictatorship is Real Democracy is second to none.

As the Right look towards fascism, so the Left look towards the Popular Front, on the French and Spanish pattern. It is true that in Chile it was formed under the lead of the Radicals, a section of which can in no way be distinguished from the governing Conservatives ; in the Argentine it is in existence, but without the Communists ; in Brazil there can be no idea of forming any party under the present regime.

Communist Influence

It would be difficult to say how far the influence of the Communists reaches. In a country like Chile, where the majority of the population lives in the direst poverty, and where their political instincts must first be awakened and then gradually roused into activity—a task the successful issue of which would be by no means certain—the Communist agitator is doubtlessly at work ; but it would be ridiculous to

assume that by this means communist doctrines are being spread. It is ridiculous in any case, seeing that the small Communist Party in Chile has split into two groups, the Trotzkyists and the Stalinists, although none of its members has the vaguest idea about either. In Peru, the Apristi have ceased to look to Moscow since the theoretical arguments of their leader, Haya de la Torre with Moscow have convinced him that Moscow communism cannot be adapted to conditions in South America. In Brazil, Prestes, a revolutionary surrounded by much romantic glamour, has gained a reputation far beyond the boundaries of the Continent, but the degree of his intimacy with Moscow remains a matter for conjecture.

The revolutionaries in Bolivia and Paraguay are anti-Soviet ; the Argentine scarcely offers a profitable sphere for communist activity in view of her present favourable economic situation and a most alert, though not united, Socialist Party. Theoretical interest is very much alive in countries with social tendencies, such as Chile, as one may realise after a study of the windows of bookshops. It must be remembered, however, that the true models for the Left Revolutionaries are not in Europe, but in Mexico, whose struggle has become an heroic epic and in Peru with its hundreds of political martyrs.

South America's interest in Europe is centred in the Spanish Civil War. Spain and South America not only share the common bond of language, they form one cultural entity. It is true that the Spanish influence is not paramount, having been overshadowed by that of France for some considerable time, but the recent development of Spanish literature—Ibanez, Unamuno, Madariaga and Ortega y Gasset—has again revived the influence of Spain. Science looks rather to the English and American universities, especially after the German Revolution.

Spanish Conditions

The social conditions which determine the life of the masses are similar to those in Spain. Here as well as there, the large landowners hold the same powerful position ; in the country, feudal and semi-feudal conditions prevail ; the Catholic Church acts as the political ally of the ruling big estate owners ; an industrial proletariat, for the most part living under the most miserable conditions, has sprung up in the cities ; it is difficult to organise and easily persuaded to take

violent action; an influential and powerful middle-class is lacking. Beneath a modern guise the Spanish colonial system can be discerned, just as the seventeenth century peeps through the Spain of the twentieth century. Both are rather removed from the modern world. Both are facing the French Revolution of 1789. And as the Spanish picture unrolls before the eyes of South America, similar passions must of necessity be enflamed, similar opposing forces engendered.

Already the Spanish fight is having a very material effect on South American history. Her future depends on immigration. Just as Germany and Italy are falling from the ranks of emigrant nations because they wish to retain their increasing population in their own country, so Spain is no longer a source of immigration, as no South American country governed by the Right wishes to absorb revolutionary Spanish workers. Uruguay has already led the way with a special decree. This only leaves the Slav and Far Eastern countries as a source of population. Such immigrants are, however, unwelcome, as they would destroy the homogeneity of the race. The human bridge to Europe is broken—and no other is in sight.

PAN-AMERICA
Will a Great Chance be Missed?

by PAUL VANORDEN SHAW

From "The Christian Science Monitor," Boston

WHEN President Roosevelt suggested a Pan-American peace conference, many Latin-Americans who thought or wrote about or reacted to this suggestion seemed to see in the idea a new vision and a new solution. Even inveterate Europophiles gave the impression that possibly a way out of domestic political and economic difficulties, a way out for more profitable international living, lay in an American system, in American solutions, in American ideas and in American cooperation. And by *American* is meant not a *United Statesian* but a continent-wide Americanism.

In view of antecedent and subsequent factors, it was almost pathetic to see how eagerly and spontaneously the Latin Americans, who were beginning to lose faith in the Old World with its Fascism,

Communism, and League of Nations, and its Italo-Ethiopian war, picked up what was to many a novel and soul-satisfying idea—an American system worked out in harmony between Latin America and the United States, using American rather than European materials and ideas.

* * *

The march of projects from all parts of the continent to Washington for consideration by the sub-committee charged with choosing the topics to be discussed at Buenos Aires is eloquent testimony of this assertion. Countries long hostile to the United States "bared their souls," as the phrase goes, and suggested that in Buenos Aires, and in the presence of American delegates, matters of purely domestic as well as foreign policy be discussed by all. Eagerly and enthusiastically they embraced the idea of abandoning Europe and its League of

The Dove:
"Wonder if I can stay in that one"

"St. Louis Post Dispatch," U.S.A.

Nations. For a time it seemed that the meeting in Buenos Aires was going to be the first *real all-American* conference ever held in the history of the independent American nations.

Many events apparently have changed the situation. At least on the surface, the feeling now seems much cooler than formerly. The final decisions of the sub-committee, composed of Latin Americans in Washington, have boiled down or eliminated all but rather formal questions of peace pacts and neutrality and other topics more or less familiar to such formal gatherings and, with the elimination of many topics voluntarily suggested by Latin-American governments, their ardour seems to have died down. What promised, in the first days of enthusiasm, to be a turning point in inter-American affairs now looms up as just another conclave of American diplomats. And as matters have turned out, or so it seems at the moment, despite the fact that Latin Americans themselves are responsible for the culling out process, only topics of vital interest to the United States, and possibly to Argentina, are going to be discussed at Buenos Aires.

Domestic Problems

It is difficult to understand why a "wet blanket" was thrown on the aspirations of many States which hoped that other common American problems would be ventilated at Buenos Aires.

If the United States wishes to bring into being at Buenos Aires an American-wide policy of neutrality with respect to wars in Asia and Europe—a cooperative system whereby the nations of the New World can live independently of the rest of the world by increasing inter-American trade and by implementing the peace pacts which assure peace in America, it cannot wink at or overlook many of those domestic problems proposed for discussion by many of the Latin-American nations.

Many of the republics saw in a common cooperative movement the only method of combating Communism on the one hand and other undesirable tendencies on the other. Unfortunately, both Fascism and Communism, as they now stand in many Latin-American countries are fed to a certain extent by discontent arising from economic and social distress, but, much more to the point, by the international pipe-lines with connections to neighbouring countries and to the sources in Europe.

In other words, if by common efforts the nations of the New World

could bring into being a greater exchange of products and thus restore balances disturbed in the last six or seven years, if by common efforts Communism could be stamped out and thus eliminate one of the greatest appeals of Fascism, then a condition whereby the Latin Americans could cooperate more fully with the United States would come into being.

If civil wars between Communists and Fascists should break out in many Latin-American nations, no common neutrality policy adopted at Buenos Aires will be of any avail...

Argentina suggested the study of economic problems. Chile suggested moral and military disarmament. Brazil suggested a common front, other nations proposed an American League of Nations, another recommended an American Court of Justice, others stressed the development and enhancement of the Americanism of the continent. But it was gratifying to note that none of these Americanist ideals were selfish and exclusive. The ties which bind America to Europe and Asia were not overlooked, but it was and is felt that a regional understanding which promotes peace and prosperity might hasten peace and prosperity in other parts of the world.

* * *

If the Buenos Aires conference fails *in toto* or in part, one of the most splendid opportunities for turning an important corner in all-American history will have been missed. It will be difficult to find Latin Americans again in so receptive a mood toward cooperation with the United States. If cooperation with the United States proves impossible because of Washington's attitude and policy, or for other reasons, it is quite probable that Latin America's attitude towards Uncle Sam will be that now developing with respect to the League of Nations—disappointment and even disgust.

Latin America, in such a case, will probably turn, temporarily, again to European nations and, should their "isms" fail, a new and stronger wave of nationalism will sweep these countries. Then the American system which would promote peace in America, which would make easier the adoption of a cooperative policy of neutrality in the event of wars abroad, which would improve the economic conditions in America, will vanish and America will become a garden of mushrooms, each languishing in the dark and damp ground of far from splendid isolation.

NOW FOR IT, ROOSEVELT!

by RAYMOND GRAM SWING

President Roosevelt's overwhelming victory has been the most momentous event of the past month. Here the well-known journalist and broadcaster, Mr. Raymond Swing, forecasts the steps the President will now take. The effects of his victory are also dealt with by "Rapier" in our financial section.

From the "News-Chronicle," London

VOTERS in the United States have told President Roosevelt to lead four years more, and lead he will. Never has a more peremptory mandate been given for personal leadership in a democratic country.

Roosevelt himself refrained during the campaign from being explicit about his plans if re-elected. He contented himself by saying he would carry on as he had begun.

His first task will be political, as all who know him intimately testify. He will put the Democratic Party's house in order, cut down redundant office-holders and name a stronger Cabinet. His ambition is to make the Democratic Party the ruling party of the United States for many terms to come. He wants it associated in the public mind with prosperity, and to leave the Republicans associated with depression.

For his political programme one must look to what Roosevelt was unable to finish in his first term.

First of all is the constitutional issue. He will meet it in the largest sense by the appointment of Justices to the Supreme Court who are sympathetic to the New Deal outlook. In four years enough members of the court will have retired voluntarily or by death to give Roosevelt his chance of amending the constitution by interpretation without having to carry the question to the people.

There may be a specific amendment permitting States to enact Minimum Wage legislation. Even Landon spoke for that in accepting nomination.

But the most fundamental questions of what to do about the

clauses of the constitution which limit Federal power to inter-State commerce and which prohibit the confiscation of property "without due process of law," under which most New Deal legislation was nullified, can more readily be dealt with by naming a more liberal court than by constitutional amendment.

Landon charged Roosevelt with intending to re-establish another N.R.A., and challenged him to deny it. Roosevelt's reply was evasive. He listed the objectives of the N.R.A.—better wages, shorter hours, the abolition of child labour and the reduction of "chiseling"; but he also stated that he was going to fight monopoly. Now the essence of the N.R.A. was that business in granting concessions to labour was given the suspension of the anti-trust laws. So if a new N.R.A. is coming it will not be like the old one.

Indeed, the old one taught Roosevelt a lesson. It quickly turned into a business bureaucracy imbued with anything but New Deal philosophy.

Another unfinished job left over from the first administration is housing. Here the President had already forecast a bigger programme.

He had been impressed by foreign criticisms of the dilatory way in which the United States tackled the housing programme. Slum clearance had gone forward at a snail's pace. Washington had been caught between the desire to do a thorough task and the fear of taking away business from private builders.

The biggest trouble around the corner for Roosevelt is Labour.

John Lewis tells him bluntly that he was elected because organised Labour and unorganised Labour voted for him. During his first term Roosevelt did open the door for Labour to help itself; but on many occasions he whittled away the rights of Labour as defined by New Deal laws and regulations. Now he is going to have to be the leader for Labour if he hopes to keep the Democratic Party permanently in power.

That means that the weight and sympathy of the Federal Government must be behind Labour's fight to unionise mass production industries. Roosevelt's second term may go down to posterity as the greatest era of strikes in our history. If the Supreme Court throws out the Wagner Law under which Labour's rights are guaranteed and

business is seriously affected by paralysing strikes, even Roosevelt's inventiveness will be strained.

Roosevelt is expected to overhaul the whole Federal tax machinery during his second term. He has already promised to revise the new tax on corporate surpluses, and promised that no new taxation will be necessary to balance the budget.

Legislation putting an end to the issue of bonds interest on which is exempt from taxation is to be expected. More "soak the rich" taxation is unlooked for, but certainly laws will be passed stopping up the trap-doors by which the rich now evade taxation.

The Cabinet will be reconstructed. Mr. Hull, Secretary of State, is sure of his post. His trade treaties actually became issues in the campaign. So the Roosevelt victory endorses a policy favouring two-way international trade.

Hull, who came into the Cabinet as a stately nineteenth-century idealist, is now the most popular personality in Roosevelt's circle.

Wallace will be Secretary for Agriculture. He raised farm incomes by fifteen hundred million pounds and talked more sense about economics than anybody else in the administration. The President has a strong personal affection for him.

The Secretary to the Treasury will be Morgenthau. He is Roosevelt's personal representative. By profession a gentleman farmer, he is without financial experience. But he is utterly dependable as a spokesman for the White House, whereas anyone taken from the business world might not be. All other Cabinet posts are in doubt.

NOTHING UNUSUAL

A REPORTER assigned to the budget-balancing squad, entered a committee-room in the Senate Office Building just as the information was given out that the weight of the earth was estimated at six sextillion, 592 quintillion (6,592,000,000,000,000,000,000) tons. Thinking that the speaker was referring to dollars, the reporter earnestly inquired: "In what year, Senator, will the national debt reach that amount."—*Christian Science Monitor, Boston.*

"WHEN THE CAT'S AWAY . . . ."

BY a remarkable coincidence the devaluation of the franc took place on the day of Yom Kippur (great Jewish feast), and it was on the same day five years ago that the English heard of the devaluation of the pound.

On that occasion a Jewish banker in the City is reported to have said: "Ah! it's just like those English. . . . You can never trust them by themselves for a single day."—*Marianne, Paris.*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome correspondence from our readers on any subject connected with international affairs. Letters intended for publication should be as short and concise as possible.

GERMANY NEEDS OUTSIDE INTERESTS

SIR—Germany is now following as far as possible a policy of complete isolation. Its attitude is that of a hurt child, which thinks to be able to preserve its dignity, and to make known its righteousness, by the maintenance of a frigid silence towards its fellows in the school-room. This attitude causes the subject to become more and more wrapped up in itself, and to hold the opinion that everyone else is against it.

Such an attitude cannot persist, owing to the necessity of the subject having to live along with the rest of its acquaintances. It persists, however, as long as the subject perceives it has an effect upon its neighbours, either making them regard it with more attention and care, or if the reverse, the reasons and causes of the hurt, multiply under taunts and criticisms, until a conflict might take place.

It is therefore apparent that in the treatment of such a condition, one should approach neither one extreme nor the other, but should persist in an attitude of complete indifference to the subject's change of state. Certainly, the aggravating cause should be removed, but, and this is most important, no condolence should ever be offered. If this policy is consistently carried out, it will soon be found that the subject will thaw, becoming once again normal. Normality induces normality, irrationalness only makes for further irrationalness.

Give Germany an interest, something outside herself to occupy her mind, something upon which she can exercise her organising ability, and I feel confident that it will be the beginning of the destruction of that wall of pride which she has built up between herself and the outside world. A Mandate would supply just the outside interest that she so badly needs, and I am sure she would manage one as well as we do. Colonies are no good, since they tend to make the colonised people slaves, but a mandate, in which one country exercises supervision and friendly advice where needed over another, recognises the equal right to life and to organise their own affairs of the inhabitants of the latter country.

Thus I see Germany today—a country that feels "downed" by all the rest, a country that thinks she is not being given a "fair chance" to show her integrity and ability, a country about which everyone is suspicious. She should be given her fair chance, she should be treated on an equal footing with the rest, and then if she does not live up to her promise (but I think she will) the world will have a much sounder reason for treating her as a dangerous criminal than it has at present.

JOHN C. GRANT.

London, November.

SLAVE MENTALITY

SIR—In the letter "I am thankful to live under a Dictator" can we believe the statement about Germany "having work for everybody who is willing and able to do work, with very little misery"?

I have read so much to the contrary that this is difficult to believe.

I do not believe Hitler or Mussolini

would have any power to dictate had they not the support of the land-monopolists, backed by the army. Now the rank and file of armies is composed of men who have delivered up their manhood (that is their power of reasoning for good or evil) to their superior officers. Whatever they are told to do, however vile, they must do.

Is organised murder any better than disorganised murder? I should say it was much worse because more powerful and backed by the State Churches and monopolists all over the world.

It is tragic to think that there are sixty million Germans with the slave mentality, *i.e.*, if you feed, clothe and amuse them they don't mind what evil things are being done, and they give up all struggles for spiritual growth.

BERTHA STARR JEFFERIES.

Bristol, November.

NATIVE "HAVE-NONES"

SIR—The hour has arrived when the European nations must think of the Eastern peoples—colonised and oppressed nations. But, alas! Europe is unaware of the fact. Instead, more fuel is added to the fire.

When a European statesman speaks of justice, he only means to justify the "have-nots" by shearing off a part from the "haves," and totally forgetting the "have-nones". The heavy burden is borne by them alone.

Retail slavery was abolished, as recorded in history books, about the nineteenth century; but a worse type superseded it. A wholesale slavery of nations is now rife.

Abyssinian massacre is a trifling event in European history. It did not incite humane feelings towards the oppressed. Behind those feelings, which were expressed towards the Abyssinians, lie the interests of their supporters.

Still the nations concerned shut their eyes before the numberless tragedies enacted before them, and seem not to hear the cries of the loyal nation. Surely, it is loyalty which brought their disaster.

The embers of discontent which are smouldering unheeded in every quarter, will, if disregarded as at present, soon explode into violent flames.

It is time to consider these "have-nones."

M.H.B.

Khartoum, November.

AN INTERNATIONAL ARMY

SIR—With reference to the last paragraph of your leading article in the November number of WORLD REVIEW: "Surely these men of all nations fighting for the Spanish Government are the fore-runners of an International Police Force, and as such are to be commended?"

As I see things, there is not much hope of a saner world until sufficient men in all countries come to see that National Armed Force is all wrong and must be replaced by an International Force ("in being"—*not* made up of "National Contingents") under the control of the League of Nations.

L. P. M. MILNER,

Pendean, November. Comdr. R.N.(Retd.)

ORATORS

"Well, what did our eminent statesman have to say?" asked the editor.

"Nothing," replied the reporter.

"Very well. Keep it down to a column."—*Christian Science Monitor.*

COMFORTING

THE world still believes in Treaties. Whenever they tear one up they always put another one in its place.—*Dublin Opinion.*

TRAVEL

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

ALPINE TOPICS

by G. D. GREENLAND

"ANOTHER world," says one advertisement, "A world of sunshine and sparkling white snow: a world of brown and happy people, bursting with health and *joie de vivre*."

"Cheaper than ever before: the £ goes forty per cent. further in Switzerland," says another. Yet a third guarantees snow from Christmas to April, while Peter Lunn exhorts us to prepare at once, and change our well-tried morning jerks to new and strange contortions. These announcements and suggestions probably herald the greatest exodus from this country to the Alps, in January and February 1937, that has ever been known.

During the last four years—rather grubby years, when a bath has often cost nearly 3*s*. 6*d*.—many have been excluded from the Alpine holiday on the grounds of expense. A process which started in the ski-ing world some six or seven years ago has been greatly accelerated: the English claim, probably justly, to have brought the first ski to the Alps, and in the late nineteenth century, to have popularised Alpine winter sport itself, then to have changed it from the Norwegian conception of *Langlauf* and jumping to the present Alpine sport of downhill running, but the English can no longer claim to be the foremost exponents in the sport of their own invention.

Central Europe today has indeed discovered its own countryside. Young and old, athletic and non-athletic, go in their tens of thousands to the mountains on every weekend and holiday. The standard of ski-ing technique among the masses has risen very rapidly, and with millions from whom to choose, some magnificent performers have arisen. Men like Fürrer, Prager, Steuri, Ruud and many others think nothing of maintaining an average ski-ing speed of nearly forty miles an hour over a seven-mile course of natural and hazardous country.

This improved technique has brought with it a corresponding improvement in instruction in nearly every resort of note. Instead of the complications and variety of turns and stops which a skier had to learn and which only a few years ago filled a book of 300 pages, the beginner today is in effect only taught one turn, and the good old saying is almost true: "When father says 'Turn,' we all turn,"—without first going into the dynamics of the business. In fact, a natural form of ski-ing control has been developed.

This simplicity has been to some extent aided, over large tracts of the

Alps, by the very popularity of the sport: powder snow is no longer the sought-after ski-ing medium. The snow on every well-known ski run is beaten down by the passage of thousands of pairs of ski to a hardish surface, which allows of a much easier form of swing and turn than the varieties of snow which abound in untrodden country.

Altitude has a tremendous influence on climate. A beautiful snowfall at 4,000 ft. is often pelting rain at 3,000; sunshine at 4,000 ft. is not infrequently a thick mountain mist at 3,000. And with only two or three weeks to spare, a serious thaw followed by fine weather, a frequent occurrence in low stations, means one of two things: ski-ing on ice, an exciting but unattractive pastime, or looking at brown fields for the remainder of the holiday.

Among those considering a winter sport holiday for the first time, or after a lapse of years, there must of necessity be some doubt as to whether to choose Austria, Germany or Switzerland. On the grounds of expense there is very little, if anything, in it.

Switzerland is today cheaper than Austria, owing partly to the shorter railway journey; it offers the greatest variety both of resorts and hotels; and there are more funicular railways which are a great help to the majority of skiers.

The Austrian "Ski Paradise," as every resort calls itself where there is any possibility of ski-ing, has a peculiar charm of its own. The local inhabitants look upon their ski with a certain reverence not to be found elsewhere. Ski running is often more than half their very existence; and they are perfect exponents at it. This very sincerity adds charm to a very lovable people, but one wonders what their reaction will be on seeing half the fairer sex of London sporting their local headgear, their coats and even buttons. Should their natural courtesy lead them to return the compliment by imitating us, an Alpine tragedy would be enacted. The Arlberg Kandahar meeting, still the classic of ski races, attended in the Ascot manner!

At present, however, a study of the crowds at such a meeting is an education on matters of equipment, for it reveals that a pair of ski, ski sticks, and good ski boots are the only essentials. Admittedly, the women will all be wearing trousers or plus-fours, which would probably not be included in their ordinary wardrobes, and wind jackets such as one sees on any golf course. But it is clear that every necessary extra for a ski-ing holiday for the average man or woman could be bought for about £5, excluding ski, which can be hired cheaply.

A fine snow foundation is already forming in the Alps, and let us hope that the good work will continue in preparation for a bumper season.

FIRST DAYS ON SKIS

by DENNIS BARTLETT

SKI-ING is largely a matter of practice, but a man who learns in the wrong way is never likely to develop into a good skier. A few hints at the right time may save a lot of bother. Those first days are more important than one believes.

There are many qualities which go to make the perfect skier; looseness, confidence, style, the determination not to fall and lack of fear of falling. These qualities all depend on each other. To take dry-course ski-ing lessons for looseness a few weeks before the season begins helps to diminish fear when the time comes for great adventures.

Courage, of course, has a lot to do with success. But it is no good being

absolutely reckless, charging down every hill completely out of control, falling half way down with a crash, and spending the rest of the winter in a nursing-home, perhaps in the neighbourhood of a few resentful people whom you knocked over at the same time. Also do not desert the "nursery" slopes in order to go for long tours with expert skiers; they may be very pleasant about allowing you to come with them, but in reality it is most annoying for them. You may think that they can carry on down by themselves if they want to, but they cannot; it is against etiquette to leave a ski-ing companion alone on a tour and of course this applies very strongly where beginners are concerned.

The commonest fault of the beginner is to keep his legs quite stiff and to lean back. Consequently he always falls backwards, loses his temper, and does not enjoy himself in the least. It may not be easy to lean forward and to bend one's knees the very first time on skis, but it must be done. The sooner one does it, the sooner one develops a sense of balance.

There is a certain type of beginner who will lean further and further back the faster he goes, until finally he deliberately sits down on the back of his skis. If you want to learn, never do that. If you find yourself sliding too fast down a hill, at least *try* to turn. Besides, you can do a lot to check your pace by stemming. The more you stick your heels outwards and keep your knees knocking together, the easier you will find it to check your pace. And once you can control your speed in this way you begin to develop that greatest of all assets, self-assurance.

One more word of advice. Don't wave your arms and sticks about to keep your balance, for there is no surer way of losing it. Knees well bent, body well forward, hands pressed close to the body with the sticks pointing outwards and every muscle in you elastic rather than rigid—you can then tackle moderate slopes with the comforting conviction that only a very treacherous ridge or rut will upset you.

ROADS, HERE AND IN GERMANY

by CAPTAIN G. E. T. EYSTON

The new Trunk Roads Bill, under which 4,500 miles of main road will be transferred next year to the direct control of the Ministry of Transport, may prove to be the most momentous development in the history of British roads. Road transport interests welcome it as the first step towards control by a central authority of all the roads in the country.

In an earlier article, I have touched on the absurdities that exist under the present system. Not all these absurdities will be wiped away by the new Bill. The new trunk roads will comprise only 17 per cent. of the Class I roads of the country, and—an important reservation—the Ministry of Transport will exercise control only on those sections at present administered by County Councils. The transfer will not include such parts of the trunk roads as lie within the County of London, county boroughs in England and Wales, or large burghs in Scotland.

By the end of this year, Germany will have 600 miles of *Autobahnen* actually open to traffic. Perhaps there could be no more vivid indication of their remarkable lay-out than the amazing speeds lately achieved on one road near Frankfurt by Carraciola, the famous German racing ace. To cover the flying mile at 228 miles an hour on a public highway, as he did a few weeks ago, seems almost unbelievable. Until

a few years ago, such speeds were not possible even under ideal racing conditions at Daytona Beach.

Carraciola's achievement fully bears out the claim of the Royal Automobile Club that motor engineers have left road engineers standing. Our roads are already years behind motor development, and every year motoring gains a still longer lead. I would view with horror the prospect of everyone driving on ordinary roads at 200 m.p.h.—we are not all Carraciola's—nor, for that matter, do I suppose most motorists would want to travel at such speeds, any more than they would wish to cover 6,500 miles in a week-end (or its equivalent), as I did at Bonneville Salt Flats last summer. The fact remains, however, that if we possessed roads like the German *Autobahnen*, where speeds of this order were safe and possible, where head-on and cross-road collisions were unknown, there would be far fewer accidents with ordinary cars driven at fast speeds.

Speed also means a saving in transport costs. Germany's new roads are estimated to save £6,000 a day in reduced petrol consumption and savings in tyre wear—and the problem of road congestion and traffic delays in Germany as a whole is not to be compared with our own.

Motor roads on the magnificent German scale would be costly, but not so costly as is sometimes imagined. I have before me figures by Professor Karl Kruger showing that 40 per cent. of the cost of the new *Autobahnen* has been borne by savings to the unemployment fund. Building these roads has found jobs, directly or indirectly, for a quarter of a million men in Germany and wages in the quarrying industry have doubled from £3,000,000 in 1932 to £6,000,000 last year.

The only International Daily Newspaper in the world - -

"Le Journal des Nations"

Issued at the Seat of the League of Nations.

It documents on the League's life, on International Politics and Economics.

Dossiers on main questions and articles by world-wide authorities on international affairs.

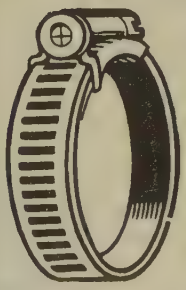
SUBSCRIPTION RATES :—

	3 months	6 months	1 year
Switzerland	S.Fr. 9.50	18.-	34.-
Foreign Countries	„ 12.-	22.50	42.-

7, rue J.-A.-Gautier, Geneva

Special Rates for Journalists.

"JUBILEE"



NO-TROUBLE WORM-DRIVE HOSE CLIPS

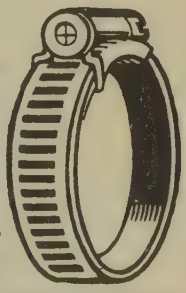
are the BEST TO GET for RADIATOR-JOINTS, LEATHER COVERS on UNIVERSAL JOINTS, AIR, OIL and WATER HOSE JOINTS.

Easy to fit, remove or refit, without damage, repeatedly.

Guaranteed Never to Leak

Stocked by Garages and Accessory Dealers Everywhere

Have a Free Sample Clip to Test.



L. ROBINSON & COY., 20 London Chambers, GILLINGHAM, KENT.

THE WORLD OF FINANCE

THE FUTURE OF UNIT TRUSTS

by R. E. BIRD

We have for a considerable time past published advertisements of leading and well-established groups of Fixed Trusts, or as they are now called, Unit Trusts. These have undoubtedly drawn the attention of our readers, who may probably also from time to time have seen references in the Press to an Official Committee's having investigated Unit Trusts as a whole—a subject of considerable importance, owing to the immense sums which have been invested in them. In order to give readers of this Review a completely impartial and clear explanation of the Committee's findings, we asked Mr. R. E. Bird, an economist who is an expert on the subject, to contribute the following.

ANY institution which succeeds in the brief space of five years in attracting over £50 millions from the investing public has clearly arrived at the dignity of a social phenomenon. If the official inquiry may be regarded as marking its adolescence, the unit trust movement will clearly have entered into maturity when legislation is enacted. The reference in the King's Speech to unit trust legislation shows that Statutory Control is now only dependent upon the exigencies of the Parliamentary time-table. Like all rapidly developing movements, the unit trusts have not escaped valid criticism, but when their record, short though it is, is compared with some of the excesses which the speculative share markets have permitted themselves—with the millions frittered away in the 1928-29 new issue boom, for example—it is clear that there are several credits to be placed to their account. To have diverted the small investor's funds from the "bucket-shop" into more or less speculative industrial investments is no minor achievement.

The movement, too, has shown itself capable of producing reforms from within. The conception of the unit trust has completely changed since the first fixed trust offered its units in April 1931. What began as a revolt against "management" of investment funds, an attempted refuge from the frailties of human judgment through a completely rigid investment portfolio, has increasingly turned, during the past two years, towards the advantages of flexibility. The latest flexible unit trusts have many points of resemblance with the managed investment trust company. Their range of investment, though limited, is very wide for practical purposes, and the managers are free to switch between any securities in the permitted list. In one major feature, however, there remains a profound difference. The unit trusts are not companies; they are subject to no legal supervision, apart from the general rules of contract which govern their constitution; and the unit-holder, with no body of precedent to guide him,

(*Continued on page 90*)

FOR SECURITY: STABILITY: STRENGTH:

SPREAD YOUR MONEY, spread your risk. Through any of the Unit Trusts of the well-known "15 Moorgate" Group, you can do this with maximum convenience and maximum safety, securing at the same time a good return on your capital. More than £10,500,000 has already been invested in Trusts of this Group by small and large investors in amounts of from £20 to £25,000: evidence of their soundness and universal popularity.

Did you know that a Reserve Fund of over £175,000 has been deposited with the Trustees of the Trusts in the "15 Moorgate" Group to provide for their future management?

Write for descriptive Booklet WD which is the basis of all transactions, to the Managers: Investors Specialised Fixed Trusts Limited, or Security Trust Managers Limited, 15, Moorgate, London, E.C.2. Branch Office: 7, Pall Mall, Manchester, 2.

Members of the Association of Fixed and Flexible Trust Managers

AN INVESTMENT FOR EVERY NEED IN THE "15 MOORGATE" GROUP

Doremus

might hesitate before pressing any claim in the Courts. Again, the unit trusts have enjoyed considerable fiscal advantages, compared with limited companies. Finally, their managements are in every case private limited companies and are accordingly free from much of the publicity which public concerns must endure.

Earlier Offenders

Although the public has been spared from irresponsible managers, the latter have accordingly been able to operate with a freedom of objective and unrestricted method which have rightly invited criticism at important points of detail. There have been features of unit trust advertising—fortunately, now tending to disappear—which, as the Board of Trade Committee's Report aptly declared, " may perhaps be entirely proper in selling soap, but which are unsuitable for the more serious adventure into investment." The calculation of yield figures is one example, although the well-established groups now make an explicit distinction between cash dividends and the proceeds of capital rights in setting out their yields. Another, which is more important, is the appearance of such phrases as " capital and income assured " in close proximity to the name of a bank, whose sole function is to act as custodian of the underlying securities. The extent of public misconception regarding the precise functions of the trustee must in large measure be attributed to this sort of juxtaposition in earlier advertisements.

It is remarkable, however, how quickly the movement has reacted to the competitive impulse. The struggle for business may originally have fostered the adoption of these and other questionable practices. Latterly, however, it has tended to work in the reverse direction. Managers have felt themselves encouraged to produce reforms—and to display them. The more dubious sales devices have become less frequent since the Board of Trade Committee was appointed. It is hardly unfair to say that the movement has been on its best behaviour during the past nine months. Its unanimous welcome to the Report may have sounded a little eager, in view of the obligations which the trusts must assume in future, but it is undeniable that the movement is now morally committed to the Committee's findings. There is, at least, no hint of opposition to its major conclusions.

Value of Publicity

This evolutionary movement " from within " finds its best reward in the Board of Trade Committee's Report. For, in arriving at the major conclusion that the movement should be controlled but not prohibited, the Committee has given it a draft charter. The field is to be free for all. There are to be no limitations of numbers, size or scope under the new regime, within the context of the detailed regulations which the Committee has proposed. The basic motive behind these important measures of control is that the fullest publicity and effective criticism, coupled with moderate working regulations, is likely to foster the public interest more satisfactorily than a complete set of hard and fast rules. There are so many variations in unit trust methods of operation that specific rules might not cover every loophole. But the full disclosure of basic points —how the trust is constituted, what it holds, how much the unit holder pays in charges as distinct from investments, the extent of the managers' profits (both through the nominal loading charge and through " adjustments " of various kinds)—information on this scale, although it works to some extent *ex post facto*, would undoubtedly disclose any grounds which existed for criticism. The managers' dual function—for they are principals in dealing

in their units, and also agents offering expert investment services to their clients—may involve a conflict of loyalties. And consequently, the Board of Trade Committee concluded that the manager should expose and analyse his results and if necessary submit himself to the criticism of his clients year by year.

Reserves Required

What lines is the movement likely to take in future? The field will be free for all—in theory. But such freedom will be conditional, possibly to the point of actual restriction. The Committee's requirements are themselves distinctly formidable to any freebooter who imagines that unit trust operation is a gold-mine. Again, the recommendation that each trust (not each management company) must deposit £20,000 to ensure continuity of management is of no comfort to the man of straw. It may, indeed, involve one or two existing managements with the awkward choice of closing their issues or raising new resources. Informed estimates suggest that a trust must sell about £1,000,000 of units in order to build up the necessary £20,000 reserve. If we assume that about £60,000,000 have been sold to date by sixty-eight trusts (of which £22,500,000 has probably been invested in ten trusts) it is clear that the majority of trusts are unable to claim this volume of sales.

These statistics illustrate a further point. An average sale of about £500,000 is sufficient for reasonable profits, but under recent competitive conditions it has become more difficult to achieve even this relatively moderate total. The opportunity for spectacular pioneering profits has passed. And with the end of the formative phases of unit trust growth has come the opportunity—perhaps the inevitability—of consolidation. The future seems to lie with the large group operating a number of trusts, and able to spread its management costs over a larger field. An existing organisation and experience will, in the end, tell against "get-rich-quick" formations. The marriage may be celebrated, eventually, between the unit trust movement (with its "ungeared" units and freedom from the burden of prior charges) and the managed investment trust companies with their acknowledged investment *expertise.*

The Ability of Managers

The importance of management in the future can hardly be under-estimated. So far, it has been difficult to avoid receiving substantial capital profits from security purchases, whether devised scientifically or haphazardly. Unless we have conquered the trade cycle (as prophets have claimed in other decades) managers must equip themselves for operating in a falling market. Here they must substantiate their claims to special skill, not only in selective investment, but in wise market operation, in order to satisfy those unit holders who wish to turn their capital profits into cash. The ability of the majority of the managements provides grounds for some confidence regarding this second factor—which has, of course, an intimate bearing on their obligation to repurchase units from the public—but there are too many unknown factors, such as the effect of cumulative selling on a falling market and the response of unit holders to waning prices, to allow a complacent view. Responsible managements are fully alive to these possible difficulties. For the rest, the investor must remember that he holds no guarantee of capital or income, and that even continuity of management may be imperilled if any manager met undue financial strain. It is no part of the trustee's duty to guarantee or manage the trust, and although none of them would willingly contemplate a trust

getting into difficulties, it is proper that the investor should realise the limited obligations which the trustees have assumed.

The publication of the Committee's Report further encouraged the unit trust movement to abandon attempts to increase sales through doubtful sales expedients. A year or more ago, a new selling point was thought sufficient reason for floating a new trust. Recent formations have wisely abandoned these devices. There has been a new insistence upon moderation of yield expectations. Well-known inflationary expedients, such as the short-life gold mining share and unadjusted operations in securities cum dividend, have been eschewed. "Jobbing profits" in underlying securities have been renounced, sometimes, to the unit holder. Internal progress, indeed, has resulted in the formation of a trust which has adopted most of the substantive recommendations of the Board of Trade Committee in its constitution.

THE NEW DEAL RE-DEALT

By "RAPIER"

THE outstanding event of the month from a financial and economic point of view was the re-election of President Roosevelt for a further term of four years, coupled with the re-election of a predominantly Democratic Congress. The economic implications of this event, both for America and the world at large, are epoch-making. Domestically, the verdict of the American people means that the old days of economic freedom have passed and that America definitely enters upon a new phase of economic life in which "Big Business" will in future be controlled by the Government, instead of the reverse. There will also be a continued movement towards a better distribution of income, towards social security, and, one hopes, towards greater stability. Labour will insist upon better working conditions, shorter hours, and freedom of bargaining with employers. Old age pensions, unemployment insurance, and all those social services in which America is a generation behind England, will now be pressed forward. But this change will not be made without friction. Wall Street still dislikes Mr. Roosevelt and his policies as much as ever and the big industrialists are likely to resist unionisation of industry with the probability of a series of industrial upheavals. A new labour leader, in the person of Mr. John L. Lewis, has arisen whose name will become familiar to English readers over the next few years. He is reputed to be a fighter of much greater force than Mr. William Green of the American Federation of Labour. Mr. Lewis has formed, from the nucleus of the United Mine Workers, a new union called the Committee for Industrial Organisation. He intends to establish "industrial" trade unions in American industries in place of the old "craft" and "company" unions. He is believed to be going to start with the steel industry and already the employers have attempted to buy off this threat by granting a 10 per cent. rise in wages. This, however, does not satisfy Mr. Lewis, and there may be strikes later.

Meanwhile, American trade revival continues unabated and all economic indices continue to advance. Steel production is running at 77 per cent. of capacity, railroad traffics continue to increase, motor car production is estimated to reach the 5,000,000 level

next year, the distributive trades are experiencing record sales, and even the depressed building industry shows signs of recovery. There is always the danger that the boom may develop into uncontrolled inflation unless Congress and the Administration tackle the problem of the unbalanced budget. The President has stated that he is counting on trade revival to wipe out the deficit without any planned curtailment of expenditure by the authorities. Unemployment is still a heavy burden, though it has been reduced from a peak of 15,000,000 in March 1933 to between 4,500,000 and 7,000,000 today. There are no accurate figures available. And while there are still so many unemployed it is difficult to reduce relief expenditure.

Bombshell for Foreigners

The stockmarket continues to advance and is attracting a large flow of foreign investment from Europe. On November 13 the President dropped a bombshell among foreign investors by indicating that he was considering with the Federal Reserve Authorities the possible curtailment of foreign investment, which he considered a threat to American stability. He gave no hint as to how he proposed to implement this suggestion, but he might impose special taxation on foreign investors, though this would be difficult to work in practice. The flow of funds to America is also an embarrassment to both France and England in working the tripartite monetary agreement. If it should continue unchecked the loss of gold from Europe to America will make it difficult to maintain the value of the franc and sterling in terms of dollars. Britain has only a limited amount of gold in its Exchange Equalisation Fund and it would not be willing to see all this dissipated in supporting sterling against a steady pressure. It seems that if any restrictions are to be imposed they will need international cooperation rather than unilateral action by America. This problem also raises that of the War debts. The American public argue that if Europe can afford to invest so much money in Wall Street it can equally afford to pay its debts. The best solution of the whole problem, though one which is unlikely to be realised in the near future, would be for America to lower its tariffs and resume foreign lending, which would lead to an outflow of the redundant gold stocks now accumulated in the States, which total over $11 billion. The re-election of President Roosevelt means at any rate that Senator Cordell Hull will be able to continue his policy of bi-lateral trade agreements which Governor Landon had threatened to reverse if elected. But this policy, though to the benefit of the world in general, does not mean a reversion to free trade and foreign lending on any appreciable scale.

TYPICAL

Hostetter. Is Quiggle what you would call a typical American ?

Kumquat. Yes ; he likes baseball, is buying an auto on time, has his home mortgaged for more than it is worth, pays alimony and has got seven different kinds of loans from the government.—*Wall Street Journal, New York.*

AMERICAN ODDITIES

HERE is a list of towns with odd names, which, with the state included, make interesting combinations : Ash, Kan.; Carpet, Tex. ; Mount, Wash. ; Ogoo, Ga. ; Odear, Me. ; Skeleton, Ky. ; Shoo, Fla. ; Kay O. ; Houdy, Miss. ; Fiven, Tenn.—*Whitewright Sun, United States.*

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

What we Must do to Save World Peace

By Lord Allen of Hurtwood

The Report of the Royal Commission on the Arms Traffic—an expert commentary

By Freda White

HEADWAY

A monthly review published by the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

(3/6 a year)

Peace Making and Peace Keeping articles by eminent authorities on the chief world topics of the moment

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

SPECIAL WINTER BOOK SECTION

THE HINDENBURG MYTH

HINDENBURG. THE WOODEN TITAN. By J. W. Wheeler-Bennett. *Macmillan.* 21*s.*

Reviewed by MAJOR B. T. REYNOLDS.

> ". . . and to do my duty in that state of life into which it shall please God to call me."

HINDENBURG was one of the few mortals to whom it has been permitted to live three lives. Such bounty is not always a kindness.

When he retired as a Lieutenant General in 1911 he already had behind him two victorious campaigns and a long and useful life spent in the service of his country—or, as a Prussian officer would have preferred to put it, the service of his Emperor. He was then, and always remained, singularly free from ambition and, at the age of 64, could settle down in Hanover to enjoy the evening of his days with a clear conscience. All his life his duty had lain straight before him and he had performed it.

Hindenburg's second life began at the age of sixty-seven when Ludendorff, the newly appointed Chief of Staff of the Eigthth Army, collected his Commander on the platform of Hanover station at 3 a.m. on August 23, 1914. Within a few days he was the victor of Tannenberg and had become " the most popular man in Germany."

From now onwards his name is associated ever more closely with the titanic struggles of the German army in the World War, its successes and its failures. It would have been better for the new Germany of the Weimar Republic that sprang up on the ruins of the old Empire, if the truth of those days had been more widely known and the bitter lessons of defeat taken to heart and studied no less than those of victory. Instead, there sprang up the false legend of the " stab in the back," which Hindenburg himself did much to foster, both in his Memoirs and in his evidence before the *Staatsgerichtshof* in November 1919.

> " Like Siegfried, stricken down by the treacherous spear of savage Hagen, our weary front collapsed."

Mr. Wheeler-Bennett does well to expose this myth.

The officers of the old army, too, very humanly conspired to give a twist to history with the object of preserving the name and fame of their old Commander, with which those of the army itself were so closely bound up. As Groener, one of the ablest of them, put it :

> " I believed that in the new army the myth of Hindenburg should be preserved. It was necessary that one great German figure should emerge from the War free from all blame that was attached to the General Staff. That figure had to be Hindenburg."

Germany has always provided a fruitful soil for the growth of myths and this one flourished exceedingly. In the darkest post-war years the

figure of old Hindenburg seemed to stand four-square to all the evil winds that blew and his stricken countrymen drew courage from the towering bulk and fame of "the wooden Titan."

When Ebert died in 1925, the saddler-President was succeeded by the Field Marshal and Hindenburg's third life began. He was actually the choice of the Nationalists, who saw in him the means of restoring the Monarchy; but he remained, as ever, the slave of duty and strove to serve the Republic to which he was dedicated by his oath of office. To the bulk of the German people his legendary fame placed him above party. At that moment Theodor Lessing was writing of him:

> "From the very moment when this least political of men is miscast for a political role, another will be the decisive factor. This man, through and through, is a man of service; there are not even the beginnings of a personality capable of deciding, measuring, considering. Here the sole essential will always be the instruction, the tradition, the consensus that 'one certainly must' or 'one certainly must not——.' He will remain the 'good shepherd' only so long as some clever man is there who will interest him in his duties and arrange them for him. A nature like Hindenburg's will ask until he dies—'Where can I serve?'. It may be said, 'better a zero than a Nero.' Unfortunately, the course of history has shown that behind a zero there always lurks a future Nero."

Lessing was murdered by Nazi gunmen on Czechoslovakian territory in September 1933. A sense of duty is not enough.

Mr. Wheeler-Bennett, who knew personally most of the principal characters, and who enjoys the great advantage of having no axe to grind, furnishes us with as reliable a guide as could be found through the maze of politics and intrigues that filled the crucial years of Hindenburg's first and second terms of office as President. It is an amazing and tragic story and admirably told. One can only hope that this book will be widely read.

WAR PLOTS

HITLER OVER RUSSIA? By Ernst Henri. *Dent.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by
LT.-COL. H. DE WATTEVILLE

A PREVIOUS work from the same pen, *Hitler over Europe*, has paved the way for this volume, which sets out to reveal the whole trend of Nazi policy since Hitler's triumph over the rebellious S.A. leaders on June 30, 1934. According to the author, that policy is directed towards the overthrow of the Soviet State and, still more, of the doctrine upon which that State has been erected and now works. The subtitle of the book, "The Coming Fight between the Fascist and Socialist Armies," sums up the argument. Part One describes the motives and intrigues by which the industrial oligarchy of Germany allied themselves with Hitler and supported him. This ended in the overthrow of the middle class of Germany and its army, ending in the execution of Roehm and his fellow-leaders of the S.A. The next part of the work recounts the first attempts of the Third Reich to ensure the incorporation of Austria into the Nazi state. This, as is well known, led to the intervention of Italy into Austrian politics. The author then professes to reveal the conflict of interests that the German attempts engendered, and he describes the hidden motives of Italian capital and industry for such intervention. His final opinion is that, if Hitler wishes to incorporate Austria into Germany, he will have to resort to force to attain that end. The narrative then launches out on a description of the secret moves of German diplomacy and politics to create and support Fascist "Leagues," first in South Eastern Europe, and next in North-Eastern Europe. These two "Leagues" would be centred in Hungary and in

(*Continued on page* 98)

Give

"BATSFORD" BOOKS

The lure of their exquisite and generous illustrations combined with their informative text makes them irresistible.

THE BRITISH HERITAGE SERIES

One of the most attractive series ever produced. Each book contains 128 pages of text, a frontispiece in colour, over 130 photographic illustrations and a coloured wrapper. Demy 8vo (8½ × 5½ inches) : bound in cloth, price 7s. 6d. net. each. Sixteen volumes have appeared, the latest titles being

THE OLD TOWNS OF ENGLAND. *By* CLIVE ROUSE
A Survey of the Cathedral cities, Market towns, Ports and Harbours, Resorts and Spas of England. The illustrations include magnificent general and detail views of Markets, Town Halls, Guildhalls, etc.

ENGLISH VILLAGE HOMES. *By* SYDNEY R. JONES
A Review of Village Domestic Architecture, including Cottages, Farmhouses, Inns, Manor Houses, Rectories, etc. Illustrated profusely from photographs and the author's drawings.

FORMER VOLUMES IN THE SERIES uniform with the above. 7s. 6d. net.

The Heart of England by Ivor Brown.
The Cathedrals of England by H. Batsford.
The English Abbey by F. Crossley.
The Parish Churches of England by J. C. Cox.
The English Castle by Hugh Braun.
English Villages and Hamlets by Humphrey Pakington.
The Seas and Shores of England by Edmund Vale.
The Heart of Scotland by George Blake.
The Face of Scotland by H. Batsford.
The Spirit of Ireland by Lynn Doyle.
The Spirit of London by Paul Cohen-Portheim.
The Countryman's England by Dorothy Hartley.
The Old Inns of England by A. E. Richardson.
The English Country House by R. Dutton.

HUNTING ENGLAND. *By* SIR WILLIAM BEACH THOMAS
A survey of the sport and its chief grounds. Containing descriptions of practically every leading English Hunt, with 10 Plates in Colour from Old Paintings and Prints and over 100 illustrations from Modern Photographs. Demy 8vo. Cloth. Price 7s. 6d. net.

CIRCUS PARADE. *By* JOHN S. CLARKE
A Pictorial Review of the Circus Past and Present, containing 128 pages of text, a coloured frontispiece and about 120 illustrations from photographs and old prints. The author of this fascinating book travelled for many years with the circus and knows perhaps better than anyone living the details of its life. Demy 8vo. Cloth. Price 7s. 6d. net.

SHAKESPEARE'S ROMEO AND JULIET
With designs by OLIVER MESSEL
A Beautiful Edition of this famous tragedy, containing 96 pages of text, 8 plates in colour and 32 in collotype, reproduced from Oliver Messel's original designs for the settings and costumes for the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Film Production. Demy 4to, cloth. Special limited edition. Price 21s. net.

B. T. BATSFORD LTD., 15 North Audley St., London, W.1

Poland respectively. Having achieved this double purpose, the way would now be clear for the great assault on the Soviet Union, by sea, by land and by air.

The remainder of Part Two—which might better have been cast into a separate section—relates the great plan, attributed to the late General Hoffmann, for the invasion of Russia on a twofold front: the first, based on East Prussia, directed by land and sea against Leningrad, the second through Austria, Hungary and Rumania, on Moscow. There is a long argument tending to prove that such an attempt, on purely military grounds alone, must not only fail, but will bring about the ruin of the Third Reich and of Hitler himself.

The book, like many others dealing with espionage, secret diplomacy and like subjects, is extremely difficult to check as to the accuracy of the majority of its facts. It is well informed and excellently documented, but are its conclusions always just and correct? The bias of the book runs so strongly in favour of Socialist and Communist theory and practice, that one is inclined to suspect its impartiality. Certainly, those details relating to the military policy and strategy of the Third Reich are open to question. Certain statements relating to the "Schlieffen Plan," by which France was invaded in 1914, are distorted: the views and plans of that very able soldier, Max Hoffmann, are not treated with fairness, nor with any true appreciation of their purpose. Details of fact are erroneous, such as the statement that the British Fifth Army was "destroyed" in March 1918. Had this been the case, the Allies would have suffered decisive defeat at that moment.

In spite of these defects, the book may prove of considerable interest if taken *cum grano*, for it is clever, well written and a clear proof that things in high places "are not always what they seem."

CIVILIZING MASSACRES

DESERT ENCOUNTER. By Knud Holmboe. *Harrap*. 9*s*.

Reviewed by H. A. R. PHILBY.

WE have heard much of Italy's constructive activity on the shores of the Mediterranean. Rhodes is a show piece that has been much admired and advertised. Fulsome praise has been lavished on the better Italian shipping lines. It is high time that we were shown the other side of the medal. We might otherwise fall into the gross error of supposing that Matteotti and Haile Selassie are the only victims of the Duce's destructive propensities.

Mr. Holmboe deserves credit for drawing attention to a hitherto obscure scandal. Few can venture into the interior of Libya, guarded as it is by desert sand and Italian officialdom. And the massacres that attended General Graziani's mopping-up operations there deepened the silence of the desert by the silence of the grave. Mr. Holmboe has, it is true, done little more than lift one corner of the veil. But the exiles of Kufra, scattered about the Middle East, will be grateful for small mercies. And we will be able to understand a little better the execration (somewhat respectful execration since the events of last year, Gadsir!) in which the name of Italy is held in that region.

Desert Encounter leaves the reader, however, with an uneasy feeling that Mr. Holmboe might have been better equipped for his task. The naiveté to which the writer of the Foreword refers sometimes comes perilously near ignorance. A chance encounter with an Englishman at Ceuta started the author off on his journey without adequate preparation. As a result, his impressions suffer throughout from being impromptu and half digested.

Apart from its claims to serious consideration as a contribution to our

(*Continued on page* 100)

NELSON

Everest: the Challenge

by SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND

The second edition, now ready, has been revised and contains a full account of the recent 1936 expedition and of prospects for the future. With 16 photographs and 4 maps. 12s. 6d. net.

TOPICAL HALF-CROWN BOOKS

Russia 'MOSCOW ADMITS A CRITIC,' by Sir Bernard Pares, is the authoritative account of a visit to the U.S.S.R. this year. 3rd impression. 2s. 6d. net.

Spain 'SPANISH FRONT,' by Carlos Prieto, describes the past, present and future of Spain, with an account of the 1936 Civil War, and an endpaper map. 2s. 6d. net.

NELSON

RICH & COWAN

STEPHEN GRAHAM'S

new book

Characteristics

OF THE NATIONS & COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD

THIS is a book which answers the questions "How do men live and what is curious about them?" That great traveller Stephen Graham has compiled, from his vast experience, a unique commonplace book, which deals with the habits, traits and customs of men and women the world over.

8s. 6d. net

For the intelligent reader who wants to get a 'birds-eye' view of the world's political situation

VICTOR MARGUERITTE'S

THE LEAGUE FIASCO

Written from the 'European' point of view by the well known French historian; absolutely impartial and sardonically humorous it is a biting indictment of Poincaré, Lloyd George and those responsible for the failure of the League, yet points out the way in which we should go.

Just published 10/6 net

HODGE

86 Hatton Garden, London, E.C.1

knowledge of North Africa, the book is a good example of travel reportage in the Fleming-Maillart-Kiscu manner. A preliminary canter takes us through Morocco, Algeria and Tunis. Then, on the Italian frontier, the fun starts. Lost in the Libyan desert, kidnapped by Bedouin, the author was finally arrested as a spy by the Italians and deported. Rich material for a journalist! The photographs, taken under difficulties, are mediocre and the maps are shockingly inadequate. Finally, the reviewer must confess that he found nothing whatever to justify the comparison, drawn by the writer of the foreword and quoted by the publishers on the dust cover, between Mr. Holmboe and the inevitable T. E. Lawrence —except for a certain facial similarity discernible in the frontispiece.

THE VITAL AIR ARM

MODERN WAR AND DEFENCE RECONSTRUCTION. By Captain J. R. Kennedy. *Hutchinson.* 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

Reviewed by AIR COMMODORE L. E. O. CHARLTON

AT no other time in the history of mundane literature has the output been greater of books, authoritatively written, which deal with the burning subject of defensive war. There was, it is true, for long an annual spate of War books proper, but they were reminiscent mostly, and not, as with these others, serious attempts to analyse the military situation. To those who read its predecessor, *This, Our Army*, this latest book by the same author will be consulted with an eager anticipation, for in that former work the faults and frailties of our military system were laid bare with the remorseless clarity of an X-ray apparatus. It is the same with this new book by Captain Kennedy.

His method is one which has the penetrating power of "getting home." He is not content with easy generalities, as others are inclined to be. His editorial chair has enabled him to gather supporting facts which illuminate his pages of contention, and reinforce his argument, much as eyesight adds to hearing.

Air Power and air supremacy is what he mainly advocates, relegating the Navy to a secondary position in the scheme of defence, declining to entertain the idea of another Expeditionary Force, and reconstituting the army for its proper function of garrison work overseas. The reasons are as plain as a pike-staff to him, and so also will they be to the reader, in Service harness or not, who can bring an enquiring and an open mind to bear.

For future peace he relies on collective security under the auspices of a remodelled League, devoting a short final chapter to this summary of his thought. Many drops of water will wear away a stone, the stone in this case being compounded of conservative blindness to face a staring fact, the obsolescence of sea-power, and an attitude of mind on the part of responsible heads, Service and Ministerial, occasioned by the instinct for self-preservation. It is a slow process, the action of attrition, and the time may not be long before we reap the whirlwind. But meanwhile we jog along contentedly, lulled to sleep again if necessary by the oracular conclusions of badly constituted committees.

This, in fact, is one of the strongest points which Captain Kennedy makes, pointing out that findings must be faulty on matters of life or death importance when self-interested parties sit in judgment on their own trusteeships. They ought, of course, to render service as expert witnesses. Judges do not co-opt the plaintiff and defendant when a suit is to be tried, but we do, as the membership of the recent Inskip Sub-Committee shows, when the choice is sink or swim.

(*Continued on page* 102)

Modern States Series

"A series which should have a wide appeal and utility."—
Journal of International Affairs

The latest volumes are—

No's 9 and 10 **INDIA** (Parts 1 and 2) Prof. H. H. Dodwell

No 11 **ENGLAND** Douglas Jerrold

No 12 **YUGOSLAVIA** E. J. Patterson

Each vol. complete with maps, index and bibliography. 3s. 6d. net

---

A very important guide to the European Situation—

EUROPE IN CRISIS

R. B. Mowat 3s. 6d net

". . . clear and brief, will be very welcome to the average man struggling to keep track of the complexities of current events."—*The Times*

ARROWSMITH

Nouvelle Revue
DE HONGRIE

DIRECTEUR: GEORGES OTTLIK

NOVEMBRE 1936

Pour l'apaisement européen

Rôle et destin de la Hongrie	*Alexandre Pethö*
Pour l'apaisement européen	*Fernand de Brinon*
Le compromis austro-allemand	*André Frey*
Les rapports polono-tchécoslovaques	*Paul Szvatkó*
Le sentiment national hongrois au moyen âge	*Joseph Deér*
Genève et les minorités	*Georges Oszvald*
La Commission du Danube	*J. F. Kövér*
Les deux Bolyai	*Emeric Lakatos*
Coffres de mariage	*Magda O.-Bárány*

Chronique du mois

In memoriam Jules Gömbös

Par *Etienne Winchkler*

Un de Transylvanie *(Alexandre Hunyady)* — Humanisme ou nationalisme? *(Béla Zolnai)* — La confiture de melon (conte de *Benoit Karácsony)* — La marine marchande de la Pologne *(Comte Adam Romer)*

L'Europe Centrale et Orientale

La presse et les revues

RÉDACTEUR EN CHEF: JOSEPH BALOGH

Subscription rate: £ 1 a year — Post free — Budapest, VI, Váci-körút 3

SEVEN PILLARS OF FIRE

Seven of the foremost thinkers of the day discuss in this book the question of what is wrong with the world, and especially, of what is wrong with Great Britain. This symposium forms an important contribution to the solution of our present day problems, and will be appreciated by all who are interested in the enigmas of the post-war World.

by

Dr. Maude Royden
Dr. L. P. Jacks
Professor A. E. Richardson
The Marquis of Tavistock
C. R. W. Nevinson
Captain Bernard Acworth
Sir E. Denison Ross

8/6 *net*

ALBANIAN BACK-DOOR

by Bernard Newman

Illustrated 10/6 *net*

Times Literary Supplement: "A vivid account . . . his descriptions are vivid and bright. This book is welcome, as it is high time that there should appear a modern account of the people of Yugoslavia and Albania."

FUAD: KING OF EGYPT

by the Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah

Illustrated 15/- *net*

Truth: "This extremely interesting and informative book . . . . The author knows his Egypt from inside as no Englishman could do. His book, which is written throughout in an admirably temperate spirit, is one that English readers would do well to study."

Herbert Jenkins

A NORTHERN LIGHT

SWEDEN, THE MIDDLE WAY. By Marquis W. Childs. *Faber.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by ERIC SWENNE

THE author is an American, who has written a book on Sweden from a particular point of view—that of co-operation—and still manages to be entertaining. He writes as an enthusiast and a firm believer in cooperation as the middle way out of the world's present economic evils and for avoiding political abysses.

Certain comparisons between the development of that movement in England and in Sweden will no doubt be of an immediate interest to the English reader. The Swedish cooperators patterned themselves in the beginning after the Rochdale model. Their societies are taxed—as friendly societies—on the same basis as individual taxpayers; that is, on a graduated scale which rises sharply. This means that they in certain cases pay in dues to the State and the community as much as three times as much as if they had been taxed merely as limited companies.

Another difference is perhaps the "curious classlessness in which the cooperators themselves take a certain pride." But why curious? The Swedes dislike the "class-struggle" as much as the British and the Americans, and its absence explains the movement's spectacular success in spite of heavier taxation. Though in size and volume the Swedish cooperative movement cannot be compared either to the English or still less to the Scottish movement, it is far more conspicuous than in either of these countries. In the centre of every middle-sized and small town in Sweden, and even in villages, one sees a cooperative shop. They are not only cheap, but smart and most attractive, both in display and modern design.

In short, their appeal is to everybody, and everybody buys there. The movement is also one of the biggest national advertisers and copies freely other methods, more peculiar to private enterprise. Though the author does not mention it, it has reached a point where it now almost looks down benevolently on private enterprise.

Taken as a whole, the book gives some valuable clues to the very flattering question, which one is often asked as a Swede by one's English friends: Why are the Swedes (or the Scandinavians) so prosperous? Sweden, like Scotland, used in former days to take a certain pride in being poor. Our standard of living has undoubtedly been considerably raised since the Great War and the first reason for this, to my mind, is simply that we managed to stay out of it.

Sweden sticks to her middle course. She returns a Socialistic majority without rocking the foundations of her constitution. The book, based as it is on a genuine study and a surprisingly accurate knowledge of the country, may even be well recommended to the Swedish people themselves, surprised

FOYLES

BOOKSELLERS TO THE WORLD

We can supply ALL

BOOKS

reviewed or advertised in 'World Review'

Stock of nearly three million volumes. Catalogues free on mentioning your interests.

119-125 CHARING CROSS ROAD, LONDON, W.C.2

Telephone: Gerrard 5660 (12 lines)

though they would be at such a thing being possible.

SHORTER NOTICES

THE CONQUEST OF MOROCCO. By Vice-Admiral C. V. Usborne, C.B., C.M.G. Foreword by Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George, O.M., M.P. *Stanley Paul.* 18*s.*

THIS book is not only of great topical interest, but is a work of sound historical research. The central figure of the story is the French Marshal Lyautey, without question one of the greatest Colonial administrators of all time. Admiral Usborne traces the history of the French and Spanish occupations of North Africa, from the beginning of the last century, but naturally most of his book is concerned with the events of the last thirty years, which are clearly and vividly described.

As Mr. Lloyd George says in his foreword, there is much that we British can learn from this story. The author does not discuss the ethics of rule over subject races, but he gives us the best material from which we can draw our conclusions. The maps are worthy of the book.

THE FIVE YEARS—1914-1918. By John Brophy. *Barker.* 15*s.*

DESCRIBED as a Conspectus of the Great War designed primarily for study by the successors of those who took part in it, and secondarily to refresh the memory of the participants themselves. An absolutely first-class summary, clear, objective, accurate, brief (in comparison with its immense subject) but comprehensive. Many excellent maps by J. F. Horrabin, biographies of war personalities, tables of essential statistics and a bibliography of war books, are among its admirable features.

THE LEAGUE FIASCO. By Victor Margueritte. *Hodge.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

THIS book tells once again the sorry story of the League from its birth in 1920 to its miserable death (*sic*) in July 1936. It is a well-told story, written for the ordinary reader by one who has great sympathy with true League ideals. Its main defect is on the constructive side.

INTERNATIONAL BOOK GUIDE

ZERO HOUR. Richard Freund. *Methuen.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

PEACE OFFERING. A. C. Johnson. *Methuen.* 5*s.*

KARL MARX. Nicolaievsky and Maenchen-Helfen. *Methuen.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

DUBLIN. Christine Longford. *Methuen.* 5*s.*

THE ENGLISH PRESS. Jane Soames. *Nott.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

POLITICS: WHO GETS WHAT, WHEN, HOW. H. Lasswell. *McGraw-Hill.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

PALESTINE ON THE EVE. L. Farago. *Putnam.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

MILITARISM AND FOREIGN POLICY IN JAPAN. E. Causton. *Allen & Unwin.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

WORLD ECONOMIC SURVEY, 1935-36. League of Nations. *Allen & Unwin.* 6*s.*

THE POLAND OF PILSUDSKI. R. Mackray. *Allen & Unwin.* 15*s.*

MANCHOUKUO. Collier and Malone. *Allen & Unwin.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

WE GENERALLY SHOOT ENGLISHMEN. (A narrative of Moscow during the Revolution.) R. G. Urch. *Allen & Unwin* 10*s.* 6*d.*

AN ADMIRAL NEVER FORGETS. Vice-Admiral Smith. *Seeley, Service.* 15*s.*

MAKING OF MODERN TURKEY. Sir H. Luke. *Macmillan.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

ALTERNATIVE TO REARMAMENT. Jonathan Griffin. *Macmillan.* 6*s.*

BIG HORSE'S FLIGHT. (Politics in Sinkiang). Sven Hedin. *Macmillan.* 21*s.*

PORTUGAL. Rodney Gallop. *Cambridge.* 15*s.*

THE RAPE OF AFRICA. L. Middleton. *Hale.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

ABYSSINIAN STOP PRESS. L. Farago. *Hale.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

THE MARCH OF JAPAN. E. Lajtha. *Hale.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

MOSCOW ADMITS A CRITIC. Sir B. Pares. *Nelson.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

UNIQUE DICTATOR. (Study of De Valera.) Desmond Ryan. *Barker.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

IS IT PEACE? Graham Hutton. *Duckworth.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

CHINA FACTS AND FANCIES. T'Ang Leang-Li. *Kegan Paul.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

CRAZY CAMPAIGN. (Narrative of the Abyssinian War.) Mortimer Durand. *Routledge.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

The rate for prepaid Classified announcements is 1*s.* 3*d. per line, or* 12*s.* 6*d. per inch if displayed. Discounts for series are* 2½% *for six insertions or* 5% *for twelve. Instructions and copy with remittance should reach WORLD REVIEW office,* 40-42 *Chandos Street, London, W.C.*2, *not later than the* 14*th of the month for the following month's issue.*

LANGUAGES

The Institute of Linguists
Professional body for linguists.
Membership consists of Fellows, Associates, Registered Students.
Prospectus on application.
10 & 12 Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.

GIRLS SCHOOLS

LOWTHER COLLEGE FOR GIRLS.
BODELWYDDAN CASTLE, ABERGELE, N. WALES. Chairman: Sir J. W. Ronald Macleay, G.C.M.G. Headmistress: Miss K. I. Sayers, M.A. (Cantab.), Mathematical Tripos, Girton College. Public boarding school for 240 girls, ages 7-19, recognised by the Board of Education. Pupils prepared for external and University entrance examinations. Domestic Science, Commercial, Music, Gardening and Art Courses. All games, swimming and riding. Private golf course. 400 acres of park. Sea and mountain air. Thoroughly varied diet, fresh fruit and salads daily. Entrance and leaving scholarships. Entire charge of children from abroad if desired.

E. M. DELAFIELD wishes warmly to recommend, from personal experience extending over many years, a really intelligent and understanding School, where parents are allowed a voice in the education of their children. Girls of all ages, boys up to Prep. School. Apply: Principal, Mickleham Hall, Surrey. Telephone Leatherhead 56.

BOYS SCHOOLS

BRANKSOME, GODALMING, SURREY. An old-established Boys Preparatory School (boarders only); moderate inclusive fees. Prospectus on request.

FOREIGN SCHOOLS

ALPINE COLLEGE. Arveyes-Villars, Switzerland. 4,100 feet, Boys 12-19. Ideal climate and surroundings with individual education and care. Winter and other sports. Scouting.—Headmaster: J. M. S. Barnard, M.A. (Cantab.).

HOSTEL

LLANDUDNO—THE CRAIG-Y-DON (Temperance). Sea front. Near Tennis Courts. Accommodation 200 visitors. Lift. Recreation Room, Lounge, Writing, Billiards Rooms. 'Phone 6489. Tariff.—Proprietress.

FOREIGN HOTELS, etc.

RIVIERA, HOTEL DE LA MER, CAP MARTIN, facing full south in own grounds direct on Sea. Large roof terrace, with magnificent views. Buses to Menton and Monte Carlo. Pension, 7/6.

HEIDELBERG.—Delightful accommodation in Villa overlooking the Neckar. Proprietress English by birth, German by marriage Recommended.—Box 24, WORLD REVIEW.

HOSTEL, ROOMS, etc.

LONDON — HITHERWOOD. International Hostel on Sydenham Hill, is a beautiful Retreat from London's noise; quiet and fresh air after 14 minutes by electric train from Victoria or Holborn.—Apply "HITHERWOOD," 19 Sydenham Hill, London, S.E.26.

KENSINGTON — Comfortable, very large, furnished divan bed-sitting-room, constant hot-water in room. Rent 26/- includes light, baths, service Western 4595.

GUEST HOUSES

PICTON MOUNT
WHYTELEAFE, SURREY
YOUNG PEOPLE'S GUEST HOUSE
Situated on hilly woodland. Hard Tennis Court, adjoining Swimming Pool, Golf Links near. International atmosphere in an English Country House. Write for illustrated prospectus to H. F. ORPEN (M.A. CANTAB.)

LITERARY

WANTED: Author's manuscripts for immediate marketing in the United States. Friendly examination. REVEL, 45 West 45, NEW YORK.

PUBLIC SPEAKING

SPEAKING WITHOUT NOTES.—Make fluent and convincing public speeches without manuscript. Prepare speeches without writing them. Many enthusiastic clients.—Full particulars, Rev. T. H. Stanley, Tibenham Vicarage, Norwich.

GENERAL

34, HANWAY STREET, Oxford Street, near Frascati's Restaurant. Valuable collection. Antique Furniture, Glass, China.

"ABBREVIA"—using ordinary letters—simplest shorthand Speed means efficiency. "Magnificent" "Delightful" "Most easily acquired" — Abbrevia (W.N) 29 Donald Street, Cardiff.

PAMPHLETS

Pacifist Pamphlets
"Pacifist's A.B.C."; "State Housekeeping"; "Is There No Better Way?"; "Fear, The Dictator"; "The Laws of Peace"; "Two Cigarettes for Peace"; "Sanctions Junction. Change Here for Peace." Price 1d. each. Larger quantities at reduced prices. Apply author,
A. Ruth Fry, Thorpness, Suffolk

Printed in Great Britain for the Proprietors by The Athenæum Press, Ltd., 13 Bream's Buildings, E.C.4, and Published by Chatto & Windus, 40-42 Chandos Street, W.C.2. Sole Agents for Australasia: GORDON & GOTCH (AUSTRALASIA) LTD. For South Africa: CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY LTD. (London Agents GORDON & GOTCH LTD.)